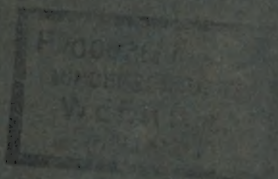


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THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE



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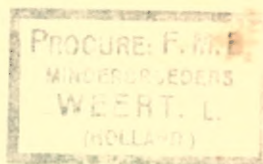


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THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE



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THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE

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MANUEL

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE study of foreign missions has been greatly extended during the last seven years since the wide-spread adoption of the small-circle method, and there has grown up a considerable literature intended primarily for the use of study-circles. It is now possible for a group of people who wish to study any of the great mission-fields, to find a text-book written specially for their purpose and giving in small space an admirable account of the nature and history of the country and the progress of Christianity within it. With the progress of missionary study, however, there has become evident a tendency to concentrate attention upon the externals of missionary work, and the immediate setting of the missionary need, with the result that the essential spiritual forces which have always animated missions and missionaries have slipped somewhat into the background.

This tendency is only a special case of a widespread danger which represents the defect of the qualities of modern missionary organization. We live in a day when missionary conferences and committees, missionary literature and campaigns cover the ground, and an immense amount of single-hearted labour is being put into the double task of assisting the work of

missionaries on the field, and awakening and sustaining the missionary passion in the Church at home. Yet there is in all this a peril lest amid our activities we forget God; lest in our insistence on the crisis and opportunity of the present time we shift the ground of missions from the eternal love and mercy of God to the temporary exigencies of a single race or generation.

We need to define anew the missionary motive, for our own souls' strength and for the sake of those to whom the missionary appeal is made to-day. This book is a slight contribution to the task. It is not complete within its own limits, still less is it a history of missionary work. Several typical epochs have been chosen, and in them the writers have tried to show how the missionary motive presented itself to devout and faithful souls. No criticism of methods has been attempted, and where controversial matters have been touched, as it was inevitable they should, the endeavour has been made to put the reader *en rapport* with the best and noblest in each type of religious devotion and expression, without criticism of the remainder. It should be added that this book springs out of corporate thought and prayer, although all the contributors heartily wish there had been more time and opportunity for such preparation, and it is hoped that it may be read and discussed in the same spirit.

Though the book is written primarily for

missionary study circles in universities and colleges, it is hoped that it will be widely used for private reading and that its public will not be confined to the colleges. A set of Suggestions to Leaders and Outline Programmes will be supplied free to all registered college circles, and to other circles at the cost of sixpence.

The editor wishes here to tender his most sincere thanks to the contributors to this volume, who have shown unwearying patience in completing the work in spite of many other claims. It should be mentioned that the final chapter was to have been written by the Rev. F. Lenwood, M.A., who was unfortunately prevented from completing it, and the author is indebted to him for valuable material.

W. P.

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CHAPTER I

By J. H. OLDHAM, M.A.

THE WILL OF CHRIST REGARDING THE EVANGELISATION OF THE WORLD.

FOR THE CHRISTIAN THE WILL OF CHRIST IS THE
STARTING-POINT.

The modern denial that He willed the missionary enterprise.

Literal acceptance of His command has not always meant obedience.

We need a deeper understanding of the mind of Christ.

I. THE RELATION OF CHRIST TO GOD.

The teaching of the Old Testament about God.

Christ's teaching about God was not less than this.

The object of His mission must therefore be universal.

The apparent limitation of His mission to Israel.

The criticism results from a confusion of aim with method.

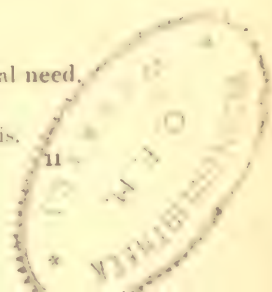
II. THE RELATION OF CHRIST TO MAN.

He cared for man as man.

His infinite compassion for individual need.

His chosen title—the Son of Man.

A universal mission is implied in this.



The Missionary Motive

III. THE OBJECT OF CHRIST'S MISSION.

The kingdom of God.

The conception of the kingdom in the Old Testament.

Christ declared that the kingdom had come.

The claim of Christ to be Messiah.

What did He come to do?

He came to inaugurate a new and supernatural order.

The character of the kingdom is determined by the character of God.

God is Father. He is "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The kingdom is a kingdom of redemption.

The revelation of God in Christ reaches its climax in the Cross and Resurrection.

This kingdom must be universal.

BELIEF IN MISSIONS RESOLVES ITSELF INTO BELIEF IN CHRIST.

In Christ are Life, Light, Grace, and Truth.

If we lose the thought of a universal mission, we lose Christ.

It is required of us that we follow Him.

The Will of Christ must be our starting-point.

IN a consideration of the missionary motive the Will of Christ must be the starting-point. For the Christian that is necessarily the final court of appeal. If Christ willed the evangelisation of the world, those who desire to be His disciples will be set on giving effect to that Will. Moreover, if Christ willed it, the missionary movement is the carrying out of the eternal purpose of God for the

world, and those who identify themselves with it have behind them the ultimate forces of the universe. Its final success is assured. Apparent failure and discouragements are only invitations to renewed effort. Men can do anything when they are sure that God is on their side. Inexhaustible springs of strength and endurance are found in the conviction that Christ, the great, supreme Word of God to men, willed the evangelisation of the world.

The question may seem to many one that admits of no dispute. Have we not the great missionary commission (Matt. xxviii. 18-20; Luke xxiv. 47; Mark xvi. 15-16) as well as other passages in the Gospels which imply a mission to the world? And yet in spite of this apparently decisive evidence one of the most distinguished theological writers of the present day, Professor Harnack, of Berlin, has maintained that the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus.¹ The chief ground of this contention is that the ministry of our Lord was limited to the Jews,² and the conclusion can, of course, be reached only by the rejection

It is disputed that He willed the missionary enterprise.

¹ *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 36-43.

² Stress is laid on such passages as Matt. x. 5, 6, 23; xv. 24.

of the narrative of events after the Resurrection and by a quite arbitrary handling of the other passages in the Gospels which imply a wider outlook.

Literal
acceptance
has not
always
meant
obedience.

This is not the place to attempt in detail to meet Professor Harnack's arguments, which would involve a lengthy critical discussion of the genuineness of particular sayings recorded in the Gospels. The real issue lies deeper. It is a striking fact that in the days when no one would have dreamt of questioning the authenticity of the great commission its content was disregarded and its moral obligation denied. The sixteenth century, which produced an ecclesiastical decision that even the vowel points of the Hebrew Scriptures were inspired, also witnessed elaborate refutations by eminent theologians of the idea that the Church had any missionary duty to the heathen, and the assertion that the missionary commission was limited to the apostles, by whom it had been fully discharged. It is thus evident that it is possible to accept the authenticity of the command, and yet not to feel its spiritual compulsion. The challenge of the historical truth of our Lord's command, however slender the grounds on which it rests, has the advantage of compelling us to seek a deeper

understanding of the mind of Christ. It brings us face to face with the fundamental question—Did Christ *will* the evangelisation of the world? If we are convinced that He willed it, we shall not find great difficulty in accepting the record of the Gospels that He commanded it.

What was the Will of Christ?

I. The secret of Christ's life was His relation to God. His meat and drink were to do the Will of God. All His teaching has its roots in His thought of God. His conception of God is therefore the natural and necessary starting-point of our inquiry.

I.—THE RELATION OF CHRIST TO GOD.

The God whom Jesus knew and made known was the God whom we find revealed in the Old Testament. From the story of the creation at the beginning to the prophecy of judgment and final consummation with which the Old Testament closes, the conception of God is that He is the God of the whole earth. He made the world, and the divine purpose is a purpose for the world. In the beginning and forefront of the story of God's revelation and redemption we have the promise to Abraham that in him all the families of the earth will be blessed (Gen. xii. 3).

The teaching of the Old Testament about God.

When Israel found itself swept out into the streams of world history, and the great Empires of Assyria and Babylon threatened

Prophets and Psalmists.

to overwhelm it, the prophets met the crisis by enlarging and deepening the nation's thought of God. The fierce Assyrians and menacing Chaldeans were but instruments in the hand of God. Even Cyrus, who seemed to have the world at his feet, was merely the servant of Jehovah to carry out the behests of Him to whom "the nations are as a drop of a bucket and are counted as the small dust of the balance" (Isa. xl. 15). It is scarcely possible to imagine a saying with a wider outlook than this: "It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou mayest be my salvation to the end of the earth" (Isa. xlix. 6). It would be possible to fill this entire chapter with quotations from prophet and psalmist illustrating the thought that God "shall judge the world with righteousness and the peoples with His truth" (Ps. xcvi. 13), and that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Isa. xi. 9). Moreover, in the book of Jonah the Old Testament contains a composition of which the primary and central purpose was to enforce the lesson that the divine compassion

includes the heathen and to rebuke Israel for its neglect of its mission to the world. This prophecy has been called "the finest foreign missionary tract ever written," and it is one which, from the use that He makes of it, must have been much in our Lord's mind.

The thought of Christ about God was assuredly not less or poorer than that of the great prophets in whose writings His mind was steeped. The God whom He revered was the Lord God Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth, the Lord of nature with whom all things are possible, the God who makes the sun to rise on the evil and the good, who numbers the hairs of our head, and without whose knowledge not a sparrow falls to the ground. The central subject of Christ's teaching was the kingdom of God, and this kingdom could mean only that universal and complete reign of God which the prophets had announced. Jesus, therefore, taught His disciples to pray that God's will might be done on earth as it is done in heaven, and spoke of them as the salt of the earth, the light of the world (Matt. vi. 10; v. 13, 14). He looked forward to a time when "many shall come from the east and the west and sit down in the kingdom of

Christ's teaching about God was not less than this.

heaven" (Matt. viii. 12), and to a final judgment when all the nations will be gathered before the Son of Man (Matt. xxvi. 31, 32). His whole teaching about the last judgment and final establishment of the reign of God leaves not the smallest doubt that the divine purpose includes the world in its scope. This finds definite expression in the saying that the Gospel of the kingdom "shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all the nations, and then shall the end come" (Matt. xxiv. 14; Mark xiii. 10).¹

The object of His mission must therefore be universal.

Because the life of Christ was rooted in faith in a God whose purpose includes the world, and because the supreme object of His life was to bring in the reign of God, which must from its nature be universal, the object of His mission could be nothing less than the world. Mankind lay within His horizon because He knew, as no one else has ever known, the God of Mankind.

The apparent limitation of His ministry to Israel.

What then are we to make of the passages which appear to limit the ministry of Christ to Israel? The instructions to the twelve in the tenth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel expressly restrict their mission to Palestine—

¹ Cf. Matt. xxvi. 13; Mark xiv. 9. A ministry beyond Palestine also seems to be clearly implied in such passages as Matt. x. 18, xxiv. 9; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 12.

“Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (vv. 5, 6). To the Syrophenician woman Christ declared: “I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel” (Matt. xv. 24). It is on these passages that Professor Harnack relies for support in his contention that Jesus cannot have given any command regarding a mission to the world. But in so doing he appears to confuse the aim of Christ with His method. The overwhelming nature of our Lord’s mission compelled Him to weigh well the means by which He might best fulfil it. In the accomplishment of His great task, He had to reckon with the limitations which attach to an individual human life. In nothing is His wisdom more clearly revealed than in the tremendous concentration of His energies. The restriction of His active ministry to Israel is to be understood in the light of the fact that, conscious of being the Messiah entrusted with the task of ushering in the kingdom of God, He yet spent the greater part of His time and strength in healing a number of sick people and teaching a few simple fishermen. His chosen plan was to let His life burn out in one concentrated flame of absolute devotion

The objection arises from a confusion of aim with method.

to the Will of God. History has vindicated His method. The light which He kindled has been bright enough to lighten the world. His method is one which those engaged in the missionary task can never afford to neglect. A single institution that succeeds in incarnating and manifesting in an intense and high degree the Christian spirit is a beacon set on a hill, revealing Christ to a whole people. Its influence may be far greater than that of a hundred institutions, the Christian light of which is not bright enough to arrest attention. A single life of Christ-like purity and heroism may do more to evangelise an entire district than the preaching of many mission halls. The true explanation of the restriction of our Lord's ministry is to be found in His marvellous insight into the means to be adopted for the fulfilment of His mission, and not in any limitation of His conception of the purpose of God for the world.

II.—THE
RELATION
OF CHRIST
TO MAN.

He cared for
man as man.

II. Let us consider next the relation of our Lord to men. The appeal of His teaching was to man as man. It was free from all local and national limitations. It ignored all external distinctions such as those of sex, or social position, or outward circumstance. It broke through tradition and convention and struck down to the primary and universal

elements in human life. Love of God and love of man are the sum of the commandments (Mark xii. 28-34). Care for father and mother is more important than ecclesiastical rules (Mark vii. 9-13). The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath (Mark ii. 27). It was with the heart of man¹ that Jesus was concerned, and the human heart is much the same the world over. Professor Harnack recognises that in this teaching there is an implicit universalism. "Jesus," he says, "disentangled religion from its national setting. Men, not Jews, were to be its adherents." Further, "one might even argue that the universal mission was an inevitable issue of the religion and spirit of Jesus, and that its origin, not only apart from any direct word of Jesus, but in verbal contradiction to several of His sayings, is really a stronger testimony to the method, the strength, and the spirit of His preaching than if it were the outcome of a deliberate command."²

In the light of the fact that Jesus was concerned with man as man, His attitude to the individual men with whom He came into

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 8; vi. 21; xii. 34-35; xv. 18-19; xxii. 37; Luke viii. 15.

² *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 37.

His infinite
compassion
for individual
need.

contact is significant. It was one of infinite compassion, tenderness and helpfulness. His heart was moved with compassion when He saw the multitudes distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd (Matt. ix. 36). The sick, the sinful and the outcast received His special attention. The need itself constituted a claim (Mark ii. 17). The object of His mission was "to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix. 10). His love for men was without limits. To learn the mind of Christ regarding the evangelisation of the world is not merely, or chiefly, an intellectual process. It is to apprehend something of the love which burned in the heart of Jesus and which found its final and perfect expression in the Cross.

His chosen
title—the
Son of Man.

The complete identification of Himself with man, in which His love manifested itself, is strikingly expressed in the title by which He chose to designate Himself—the Son of Man. Without possessions or a place where He might lay His head, seeking nothing for Himself, spending Himself for others, accepting all the trials and hardships of the human lot, not shrinking from the pain of closest contact with the sin of the world, in everything perfectly obedient to the Will of God and dwelling perpetually in the joy of the

Father's love, He lived a perfect, human life, universal in the strength of its human appeal. In the words of a recent writer, "the more clearly we scrutinise the life of Christ, the more we sink ourselves in the spirit of the synoptics, the more detailed our picture of Him becomes, the more clearly do we see that His whole life was the continuous fulfilment of the title that He chose. . . . Never in fine upon this earth was so perfectly seen that love which consists in complete identification." Nowhere in the history of the Church has this essential characteristic of the Spirit of the Master been more frequently and strikingly reproduced than in its missionary labours. The endeavour to bring all members of the human family into the knowledge of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and into the circle of Christian brotherhood, is to carry out the will of Him who claimed to be the Son of Man. To surrender that task, or to be indifferent to it, is to confess that His ideals are beyond our reach and that we cannot be His disciples.

A universal mission is implicit in this.

III. Finally, let us consider the object of Christ's mission—the work which He came to do. That work, according to the Synoptic Gospels, was to proclaim the kingdom of

III.—THE OBJECT OF CHRIST'S MISSION.

The
kingdom
of God.

The con-
ception of
the kingdom
in the Old
Testament.

Christ
declared
that the
kingdom
had come.

God (Mark i. 15). This was the theme of all His preaching and teaching. The kingdom of God meant that new age, the hope of which had stirred the heart and kindled the imagination of the saints of the Old Testament. They were convinced that the world, as they knew it, could not be the adequate and final expression of the Will of the God in whom they had learned to trust. A day must come in which He would show Himself as He truly is. As Professor Davidson has said, "During the past, the former age, God had often seemed apathetic. He slept; He let the reins of government slip from His hands. He winked at men's wickedness. Now He awoke. He grasped the reins of power; He took to Him His power and reigned. The kingdom was the Lord's."

The kingdom which Christ proclaimed was the kingdom of which the prophets had spoken. The startling difference between His teaching and theirs was that He declared that it had actually arrived. While they had hoped for it in the future, now men were actually able to lay hold of it by faith (Luke xvi. 16). Jesus began His ministry by taking up the Baptist's announcement of the imminence of the kingdom—"The kingdom of God is at hand." In the in-

cident in the Synagogue at Nazareth which St Luke has fittingly placed as an introduction to His ministry, He declared that the time of fulfilment had come (Luke iv. 21). In reply to the question of John the Baptist, He pointed to the miracles which He wrought as incontestable evidence of the availability of the Divine resources, and, therefore, of the presence of the new order (Matt. xi. 2-15; Luke vii. 18-23). The same thought is expressed in His reply to the charge of the Pharisees that His miracles were due to Satanic agency—"If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you" (Matt. xii. 28).

The crowning proof that the kingdom had actually arrived is that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, the expected Deliverer and Saviour who was to usher in the kingdom. This is implied in His self-chosen title, the Son of Man, which, as is generally recognised, is taken from the passage in Daniel (vii. 13, 14), where the prophet had a vision of "one like unto a Son of Man" who came with the clouds of Heaven. A turning-point in His ministry was reached when He won from His disciples at Cæsarea Philippi the confession that He was the Christ (Mark viii.

The claim of Christ to be Messiah.

27-29). The triumphant entry into Jerusalem was a public acceptance of the title and office of the Messiah. Above all, the passages in which Christ speaks of His second coming and ascribes to Himself the position of judge are indisputable evidence of His claim to exercise Messianic functions.¹

What did He
come to do?

It is of vital importance to get clear in our minds what Christ came to do. His aim was not primarily to teach a higher kind of morality or to reform the abuses of society or to communicate truer ideas about God than those of other religious teachers, though He did all of these things. His mission was to proclaim the coming of a new order involving the complete transformation of human life. The kingdom which He announced was the final and perfect kingdom, in which sin, pain and death and all the forces of evil would be vanquished by the omnipotence of God. It was not a

The advent
of a super-
natural
order.

¹ It is to be noted that in the Old Testament anticipations of the Messianic kingdom not only the kingdom itself but the rule of the Messiah is conceived as universal. In the passage from Daniel from which Christ took His chosen self-designation, it is said that to the one like unto a son of man there was given "dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples and nations and languages should serve Him" (Daniel vii. 14). Cf. Ps. lxxii. 11; Isa. xi. 1-9. In the writings of contemporary Judaism also we find the rule of the Messiah conceived in universal terms.

reform and improvement of the existing natural order, but the introduction of a supernatural order by the creative act of God. From this point of view it is evident how vital and essential is the apocalyptic element in our Lord's teaching. The imagery of earthquakes and tribulation, of the shaking of the powers of heaven, and of the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory, is the attempt in imperfect human language to describe the ultimate and complete victory of the kingdom of God. Nothing less than this can satisfy those who, as Rudolf Eucken has said, "perceive the inadequacy of all mere civilisation, and who see in the secure establishing of a new world upon the fundamental relation of man to the Infinite and Eternal the only possible salvation of the soul."

The kingdom which Jesus proclaimed was the reign of *God*. Its character is therefore determined by the character of God. The essential element in the character of God as Christ knew and revealed Him is His Fatherhood. The establishment of the kingdom meant the bringing of men into right relations with the Infinite and Eternal Father. That is the goal of all religion and the satisfaction of every desire and aspiration of the human

The character of the kingdom determined by the character of God.

God is Father.

heart. Philip perfectly expressed the object of religious aspiration when he said, "Lord, shew us the Father and it sufficeth us" (John xiv. 8). Jesus claimed that He was able to meet this fundamental need, and was conscious of such infinite and inexhaustible springs of comfort, peace and joy in the knowledge of the Father that He could invite all who were weary and heavy laden to enter into the rest which He was able to give (Matt. xi. 27-30).

He is "the
God and
Father of
our Lord
Jesus
Christ."

The thought of God as Father is not peculiar to Christianity. But Christ filled it with a wholly new content. The Christian message is not simply a message of God as Father, but the Gospel of "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. xv. 6; Eph. i. 3, etc.). The distinction is a radical one, and those who desire to have the Father while refusing the Son would rob us of all that is vital and precious in the Christian faith. The God whom we learn to know in Christ is not the God whose will and character are expressed in the natural order, but the Father whose good pleasure it is to give us the kingdom. Christ Himself claimed that He alone could reveal the Father (Matt. xi. 27; *cf.* John xiv. 6, 7, 9).

Because God is Father in the sense in which

Christ knew Him to be Father, the kingdom is a kingdom of redemption. It includes the forgiveness of sins, deliverance from the power and tyranny of sin, and release from bondage to nature and from all that is unsatisfying in the present natural order. These things in Christ became realities, and it was into the experience of these realities that He called men to enter.

The revelation of God which Christ brought reached its climax and final demonstration in His death and resurrection. In the cross the infinite love of God met and vanquished the sin of the world. The resurrection was the crowning proof that the love and power of the Father are stronger than death, and that the new age, with all its privileges, had really dawned. The significance of these great events will be brought out more fully in the following chapter, and it is sufficient to note here that for St Paul the incidents and the teaching of our Lord's earthly ministry were absorbed and almost lost to sight in the overwhelming impression made by these culminating, determinative acts of His life.

If the kingdom means the coming of that final, perfect age, in which God truly reigns and is loved and known as Father, it is unnecessary to ask whether it is universal. It

It is a kingdom of redemption

The revelation of God in Christ reaches its climax in the Cross and Resurrection.

The kingdom must be universal.

cannot be anything else, since it is the kingdom of God. From the love of the Father no child of man can be excluded.

BELIEF IN
MISSIONS
RESOLVES
ITSELF
INTO
BELIEF IN
CHRIST.

Life, Light,
Grace,
Truth.

The question of a belief in missions therefore resolves itself into a question of belief in Christ. What is the worth of Christ? What good has He brought to men? The most profound and striking answer that can be given to these questions is contained in two brief sentences in the introduction to the fourth Gospel. "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men." "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." The significance of Christ is expressed with incomparable insight and force in these four words—Life, Light, Grace, Truth. Mankind has no greater need than the need of these. They are all found in Christ. In His life and resurrection He manifested the power of an endless life, and the gift which He offers to men is Eternal Life. The fourth Gospel is written out of the depth of the experience of one who had felt in every fibre of his being the throb and energy of a new divine life,¹ and this experience has been shared by countless Christians since.

¹ See i. 13, 16; v. 21, 24, 26; vi. 47-51; x. 10, etc. Cf. the emphasis in such a passage as vi. 57: "As the *living* Father sent me, and I *live* because of the Father; so he that eateth me, he also shall *live* because of me."

Christ is the Light, because the revelation of the Father illuminates the darkest and most perplexing problems of human life. Christ delivers men from bondage to sin and to nature and transplants them into a kingdom of grace. He is the Truth, because in Him the reign of the Father becomes no longer a hope or dream or expectation but actual fact and experience. In Him we touch ultimate reality and discover the goal to which all creation moves. All these supreme blessings are included in the kingdom and are involved in the knowledge of the Father as Christ made Him known.

For those who have caught even a passing vision of Christ's thought of God, who have seen even from afar the ideals that shone in the heart of the Son of Man, and who have apprehended even a little of the world-wide and eternal significance of His work, it is beyond all question that the mission to the world is included in His purpose. It is rooted inextricably in what He was. We can surrender our belief in its obligation only at the cost of surrendering our belief in Him. And when we have reached this complete certainty that Christ willed the evangelisation of the world, it is not difficult to believe that, as the Gospels tell us, He commanded it.

We lose
Christ if we
lose the
Christian
Mission.

If the evangelisation of the world is the Will of Christ, it rests with those who call Him Master and Lord to carry out His will. We are in danger at the present day of thinking of Christianity too much as an intellectual problem. Christ came to accomplish a great practical task. He calls men to follow Him and to carry on his work. Like the leaders of all high enterprises He makes exacting demands on those who would follow Him. What He requires of us is a great obedience. Nothing would so vitalise the Church as a resolute determination to obey Christ's command. More than anything else the missionary enterprise needs men simple and childlike enough to recognise that the greatest thing in the world is to do the Will of Christ.

The will of Christ in this matter is a call to a grand adventure. Never has a human will been set on ends so lofty and sublime. What object of human endeavour can be compared with the purpose of Christ to redeem human life from the evils that assail and corrupt it, to establish a kingdom resting, not on force, but on the free service of converted wills, to bring it to pass that the Will of God should be done on earth as it is done in heaven, to destroy the unbelief in men's hearts and make them the children of the

It is required
of us that we
follow
Christ.

Father in heaven? As the explorer goes out to discover new lands, as the adventurer sets forth to find or build a kingdom, Christ calls his followers to explore the undiscovered treasures of the spiritual world and to labour for a kingdom of everlasting splendour, a kingdom of truth and righteousness and love, whose builder and maker is God. The world does not believe in His ends. They are too high. It laughs at them as impossible. What spectacle can compare in courage with the Will of Christ in grappling with the unbelief and sin of the world? Shall such daring and faith awaken no response? Appealing to the best that is in us—to something so high that He alone can awaken it in our hearts—He says, follow Me.

It is from the assurance that Christ wills it that there comes the strength to attempt impossible tasks. Only this certainty will enable men to persevere in the face of discouragement and difficulty and endure to the end. It is this conviction that has been the stay of missionaries in the past;¹ that

¹ Cf. the entry in David Livingstone's Diary when he expected to be murdered by savage tribes: "Felt much turmoil of spirit in view of having all my plans for the welfare of this great region and teeming population knocked on the head by savages to-morrow. But I read that Jesus came and said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and

has enabled them to toil for long years without visible fruit and in the face of every kind of hardship and discouragement; that has led missionary societies to persist in unpromising and seemingly hopeless fields, and fresh recruits to press out to take the places of those who have been laid in their graves. And this faith in the Will of Christ has been vindicated. Miracles have come to pass. *Vexilla regis prodeunt*. In doing the Will of Christ men have been building on foundations that will endure. All things are tending to the fulfilment of the purpose of Him who is the truth. The ultimate issue is sure, for He is the Word of God which cannot be broken or fail. The invincible power of Almighty God is behind those who set themselves to do the will of Him who bade us go and make disciples of all the nations, and who gave His promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

FOR FURTHER STUDY AND REFERENCE.

Religions and Religion. The Fernley lecture, by the Rev. J. Hope Moulton, D.D. (C. H. Kelly.) Pp. 124-146.

in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations—and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." It is the word of a gentleman of the most sacred and strictest honour, and there is an end on't."

An article in the *Expository Times*, Nov. 1911, by the Rev. George Jackson. (Vol. xxiii., pp. 54-62.)

The best book in German is one by Dr Meinertz, Professor in the Roman Catholic University of Münster, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*. Reference may also be made to a pamphlet in the *Basler Missionshefte*, by Lic. Bornhäuser, entitled *Wollte Jesus die Mission?*

CHAPTER II

BY THE REV. H. A. A. KENNEDY, D.D.

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE IN THE MIND OF ST PAUL

ST PAUL'S RELIGIOUS HERITAGE.

Pharisaism.

Conceptions of the future glory of Israel.

ST PAUL'S RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT.

Tarsus and the Judaism of the Dispersion.

St Paul a born missionary.

ST PAUL'S RELIGIOUS CRISIS.

A transforming experience.

A Gospel arising from that experience.

CONSEQUENCES FOR ST PAUL'S PRACTICAL RELIGION.

Discovery of a new relation between man
and God.

The Christian independent of legalistic
religion.

Redemption in Christ available for all man-
kind, without respect to race or nation.

St Paul's conviction that he has that which
the world wants.

ST PAUL'S MISSIONARY MOTIVE.

A compelling sense of debtorship.

Impulse to originality of method.

"The love of Christ constrains us."

Apostleship.

His personal vocation.

His mission to the Gentiles.

His experience of conversion the ground of
his universal missionary passion.

ST PAUL'S OUTLOOK JUSTIFIED BY EVENTS.

ST PAUL was born into a family loyally attached to the Pharisaic traditions of Judaism. The fact must be estimated at its proper value. For although bigotry, prejudice, and formality had in some measure sapped the life of Pharisaic religion, certain high truths had remained normative. The Pharisees, who after all represented the devouter elements in Judaism, clung to the conception of a righteous and holy God who should reward every man according to his deeds. There might be much that was external in their criterion of righteousness, but, when they were true to their past, they regarded God as dealing with men on moral lines. His service at least meant character. It was possible, no doubt, to interpret the supreme injunction of the Law, "Be ye holy, for I am holy," in a ritual sense, but earnest minds looked deeper.

ST PAUL'S
RELIGIOUS
HERITAGE

Pharisaism.

Above all, righteous character had the promise of the future. That was the goal which appealed to ardent souls. The coming

Future glory
of Israel.

age was to be far more wonderful even than the glorious past of Israel. God's gracious purpose for His people was rapidly working towards a climax. Then, for the first time, should be disclosed the true meaning of their history. The Messianic era, which was to be the consummation of God's Kingdom, whether associated with a personal Messiah or not, was to have a worldwide bearing. "The nations shall fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory: for the Lord hath built up Zion, he hath appeared in his glory" (Ps. cii. 15, 16, R.V.). The purified Israel, in the vision of prophetic men, had a splendid function to perform. She was destined to be a "light to lighten the nations." This was the heritage to which zealous Jews like St Paul became heirs.

ST PAUL'S
RELIGIOUS
ENVIRON-
MENT.

Tarsus.

It was of fundamental importance for his subsequent career that St Paul's childhood was spent, not in Palestine, but in the cosmopolitan civilisation of Tarsus. The city was remarkably typical of an epoch famed for the breaking down of international barriers. Its situation almost marked the boundary between East and West. Long before St Paul's time, it had been a great commercial centre. It was now the seat of a celebrated school of Stoic philosophy. From these and other

causes it was a meeting-place for men of all nations and all beliefs. St Paul's family possessed the coveted privilege of Roman citizenship. We know how invaluable this status proved to the Apostle in his career as a missionary. To what extent it affected his attitude towards non-Jewish peoples it is impossible to determine. But we can scarcely avoid believing that it would carry with it a width of outlook which must contribute to the shaping of St Paul's course of life. Even in Tarsus, however, he can have had no doubts as to his ancestral faith. True religion for him was identical with Judaism. Nay more. His acquaintance with the synagogue-worship of his native city would reveal to him the powerful operation of Jewish influence upon Hellenic minds. For there, as elsewhere throughout the Dispersion, a fringe of "God-fearers," as they are described in Acts, would be attached to the synagogue, earnest men and women from pagan circles, attracted by the pure monotheism and lofty ethical standard characteristic of Judaism. Visions may have dawned upon the boy as he grew to maturity of a time when the one genuine religion should dominate the Græco-Roman world. Be that as it may, his later training at Jerusalem could only inspire fresh zeal for his early

The Disper-
sion.

ideals. His master, Gamaliel, was a rabbi who combined loyalty to the Law with liberal sympathies. He belonged to the school of the great Hillel, who had encouraged an active propaganda among the heathen. As early as the middle of the second century B.C. the Third Sibylline Book gives evidence of the ardour of Jewish appeals to pagan society.

A born missionary.

Did St Paul cherish the prospect of becoming a missionary of Judaism? We have no data for answering the question. But never was a temperament better fitted for such a vocation. Unflinching conviction, burning zeal, boundless energy, unique concentration of purpose (Gal. i. 13, 14; Phil. iii. 5, 6, 13, 14)—surely an ideal combination for the propagation of a religion. No wonder that St Paul led the van in the attack upon the dangerous sect of the Nazarenes (Acts ix. 1). His keen eye discerned more clearly than others whereto these things might grow.

ST PAUL'S
RELIGIOUS
CRISIS.

His spiritual history was suddenly cleft in twain. Some of his own assertions (*e.g.* Rom. vii. 7 ff.; Gal. iii. 19 ff.) suggest how profoundly he had felt the inadequacy of legal religion to bring the soul into satisfying relations with God. It is probable that he was sincerely impressed by what he had heard of Jesus' character and claims and by

the influence of Jesus' person and teaching upon His followers. But the Apostle himself always refers the crisis in his experience to something catastrophic which brought him to a halt. "It pleased God to reveal his Son in me," he says (Gal. i. 16); "I was laid hold of by Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii. 12). The innermost factor in the event will always elude prosaic discussion. Its immediate result for St Paul was contact with the risen Lord. Now this contact involved (a) a transforming experience, (b) a Gospel arising out of reflection on that. It ought to be noted here that St Paul did not develop his Christian life or shape his missionary message in isolation. He received help for interpreting his experience and formulating his Gospel from the Christian brethren into whose fellowship he came. "I handed on to you that which I myself received, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and was buried and was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4).

(a) Whatever else his wonderful experience meant for the Apostle, it was at least a personal appeal of the living Christ to his soul. And his answer to that appeal was what he calls Faith, in the sense of complete self-surrender to Christ as energising Spirit and to all that

A transform-
ing experi-
ence.

Christ had revealed and was still revealing of God's redeeming purpose. The revelation of this historic Person as Messiah, the focus for a devout Jew of all God's highest designs for His people, brought St Paul into a new atmosphere of love and grace. We need not be surprised that he glories in these terms. When he reflects upon what Christ has done for him, both in disclosing to the soul of a relentless foe of His cause the riches of the divine resources which are at his disposal, and, on the Cross, unveiling the real attitude of God to men even in the face of unutterable sin, he makes the supreme discovery that the foundation of religion is love. When he relates his personal experience of liberation from deep-rooted sin and guilty failure to the God whom he has met once for all in Jesus Christ, he is overpowered by that undeserved compassion which has ordered the events of his career for spiritual victory and attainment in spite of his insensate wilfulness. For of course we cannot separate the actual achievement of which St Paul became conscious in the spiritual life from the conceptions of God and His redemption through Christ, which began to take shape within his mind. In his new intimacy with the living Lord, "in Christ," as he describes it, he has reached the

assurance of the forgiveness of his sins; he is aware of a free, joyous attitude towards God who has welcomed him; he is in possession of a spiritual power for holy living against which passion and self-will can never permanently prevail. These factors in his Christian experience have a powerful influence in moulding his religious ideas, and are, in turn, illumined by what he learns of the historic Jesus.

(b) St Paul's horizons of thought and feeling A Gospel. were too spacious to admit of his estimating God's gracious dealings with him in the light of mere personal ends. The truth which has dawned upon his soul must have universal bearings. It is a new appeal of God to mankind in the form of a new manifestation of what God actually is. While he recognises its many-sidedness, St Paul invariably regards this fresh revelation as reaching its crowning point in the Cross of Christ. The Cross is for him the supreme disclosure of the mind and heart of God in relation to the world. From it, through the Crucified, the love of the Father pleads with men to break with that sin which has rejected and slain the Saviour, and to become His children in Christ Jesus. For He, the sinless, to make men sure of the Father's purpose and yet to lay

bare in its horror the meaning of evil for the divine heart, has, without faltering, identified Himself with all the shame and suffering which sin creates and diffuses. As the Apostle endeavours, like his Christian brethren, to realise what is involved in a crucified Redeemer, he seems to make his own the remarkable forecast of the Old Testament prophet: "By the knowledge of him should my righteous servant justify many: and he himself should bear their iniquities" (Isa. liii. 11). But the idea that God has to be won over to mercy by a sacrifice is foreign to St Paul's thought. For him, God is *in* this historic revelation of the Cross at every point. Indeed it may be said that by the help of the varying metaphors through which he seeks to interpret the Cross of Christ he is reaching out after the profound truth that contact with human sin means unfathomable suffering for the heart of God, and yet such suffering is willingly endured for the sake of the world's redemption. Hence, the sum and substance of St Paul's missionary Gospel is that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing unto men their trespasses, and establishing by us the message of reconciliation" (2 Cor. v. 19).

We must now return to a point which was

briefly noted in the preceding section, the actual effects produced in St Paul's working experience by the soul-subduing revelation which had come to him in Jesus Christ. To

CONSEQUENCES
FOR ST
PAUL'S
PRACTICAL
RELIGION.

begin with, he was convinced that he had reached the goal for which through long years he had been passionately striving, a relation of real harmony with God, what he delights to call sonship. He is conscious of a new power in his inner life, a divine power, the Spirit (or, the Spirit of God's Son), which can tame fleshly desires, curb pride, and maintain intimate communion with God. This power expresses itself in worthy living : love, joy, peace, long-suffering, graciousness, kindness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control (Gal. v. 22). The moral ideal is not a mere phantom which always eludes one's grasp. It is possible for sin-burdened men and women to grow into the likeness of Christ, and the presence of the Spirit is the pledge that finally that growth will be complete.

A new relation to God.

But this new condition, which has become for St Paul so living an issue, is entirely independent of legalistic religion. His old method of obedience to a prescribed code has contributed nothing to his present attitude. Indeed, as compulsory obedience, prompted largely by fear of retribution, it stands for

Independent of legalistic religion.

a different view of God, and that means a different conception of religion. For the Jewish legalism, of which St Paul, in his Pharisaic days, had been an adherent, religion was fundamentally of the nature of a contract between God and man. God kept His side of the bargain on condition that men kept theirs. Only, as God was omnipotent, they could never be quite sure that for some inscrutable reason He might not change His line of action. In any case, frail human creatures must be constantly weighed down by a sense of failure. The keener their moral sensitiveness, the more uncertain must they feel of their claim upon the holy God. The result for St Paul had been tormenting anxiety.

In Christ the Apostle discovered that religion is nothing else than the gracious intercourse between a father and his child. His teaching is just an expansion of the wonderful declaration of the father in the Parable of the Lost Son: "Son, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine" (Luke xv. 31). Hence the legal method of dealing with God has become superfluous. Those who have surrendered themselves to the God whom they meet in Jesus Christ require no fear of retribution to be held over

them to compel them to obey. They possess a new motive for obedience, which is an inspiration rather than a fetter, grateful love to Him who loved them and gave Himself for them, and in so doing unveiled the unsearchable depths of the divine heart.

Now, plainly, a religion resting on such a basis will depend at no point on racial or national considerations. It has nothing to do either with mental equipment or social status. It is freely available for any man or woman. It reckons simply with their common humanity, the high possibility which belongs to them of becoming "children" of God. For to be "in Christ," linked to Him by a living faith, means "a new creation" (2 Cor. v. 17). Faith makes its own all that God has disclosed in His Son. So that "old things," whether Jewish or pagan, inevitably "pass away." "New things come into being" (*ib.*).

A religion for every race and nation.

No one had a clearer view than St Paul of what men yearned for. The feverish Messianic hopes of his fellow-countrymen were a symptom of their spiritual restlessness. In the pagan world around him a popularised philosophy vied with Oriental Mystery-religions in promising deliverance from the overpowering burden of Fate which men felt

pressing upon them after they had lost faith in the deities who had once been worshipped. Astrological doctrines and magic had gained wide sway, as enabling timid mortals to control those unseen forces which broke in upon their existence. And all the while this dread of the Unknown above them was largely the reflection of their own moral impotence. "All have sinned," says the Apostle, summing up the situation, "and come short of the glory of God" (Rom. iii. 23).

St Paul's conviction that he has that which the world wants.

St Paul was convinced, from the era of his conversion, that he held in his hands the clue to the problem of the world's redemption. "What ye ignorantly worship, that I declare unto you" (Acts xvii. 23). For himself, in the supreme crisis of his experience, the chaos of sin and failure had been transformed into a cosmos of faith, and hope, and love. "It was the God who said [at creation], Light shall shine out of darkness, who shone in our hearts to make bright within us the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 6). But the Apostle was a man of the most far-reaching sympathy. Every page of the Epistles bears testimony to his tenderness of spirit and the rich depth of his affection. We are almost startled by his burning words: "I could wish that myself were accursed from

Christ for the sake of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh" (Rom. ix. 3). Nor was this all. St Paul had ever been a passionate seeker after truth. And truth meant for him no mere speculative grasp of the nature of the universe, but a knowledge of the means by which the soul could become right with God. When, therefore, in the light of his own transforming discovery, he looked out upon those still groping in the darkness, it was inevitable that a temperament and spirit like his could find no rest until it had shared its all-satisfying secret with his brethren for whom Christ died. His attitude is described by himself in memorable words: "To Greeks and barbarians, to learned and unlearned I am under obligation. . . . For I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of God resulting in salvation to every one that believes" (Rom. i. 14, 16).

The passage which has just been quoted lets us see into the very core of one fundamental element in St Paul's missionary motive. The priceless privilege conferred upon him in the disclosure to mind and heart of God's real attitude towards humanity must necessarily carry with it a limitless responsibility. Jesus had taught His disciples: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a

ST PAUL'S
MISSIONARY
MOTIVE.

Compelling
sense of
debtorship.

hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a lamp and put it under the bushel, but on the lamp-stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine before men" (Matt. v. 14-16). Probably this sense of incalculable debt will always belong to an experience like St Paul's. "The test of spiritual vitality," it has been aptly said, "lies in its recognised obligations." The Apostle comes back to this overmastering conviction again and again. "If I preach the gospel," he declares, "it is not something to boast of: for constraint lies upon me: yes, woe be to me, if I do not preach the gospel" (1 Cor. ix. 16). The words remind us of Jeremiah's pathetic confession when face to face with a difficult commission from God: "If I say I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name, then there is in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I weary myself to hold it in, but cannot" (Jer. xx. 9).

Impulse to
originality
of method.

St Paul's consciousness of the urgency of his debt to his fellow-men is a constant impulse to originality of method. He refuses to be hampered by conventional lines of action. He lays himself open to charges of inconsistency and time-serving (Gal. i. 10; v. 11; *cf.* Acts xvi. 3). But nothing can daunt him.

“ Although free in respect of all, I made myself the slave of all that I might win the more. . . . To all men I have become all things that at all events I might save some ” (1 Cor. ix. 19, 22). Few glimpses have been given us of St Paul’s manner of dealing with individuals. His use of mystery-terminology and of favourite Greek metaphors in his letters to his Christian converts indirectly suggest the eager efforts he must have made to put himself *en rapport* with inquirers after salvation. Perhaps nowhere is clearer light shed upon the Apostle’s estimate of the incomparable worth of his Gospel and all that that involves than in his bold statement to the Philippians : “ Some actually preach Christ from envy and strife, and some from good will. . . . What does it matter ? In every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed, and in that I rejoice, yes, and will rejoice ” (Phil. i. 15, 18).

An equally integral element of St Paul’s missionary motive is finely exemplified by his well-known utterance : “ The love of Christ constrains us ” (2 Cor. v. 14). His profound obligation to share with his fellows the good news of God is almost overshadowed by his infinite debt to Christ, who has made him certain of their truth. The love of Christ

The wonderful love of Christ for men.

for sinful men was an unceasing wonder to the Apostle. The awe of it, an awe mingled with joy, thrills throughout the Epistles. Here is a demonstration of the divine passion for human souls. For this love involves a self-renunciation to which there is no parallel. He who was in the form of God had emptied Himself by taking the form of a slave, and, being formed in fashion as a man, He had humbled Himself, becoming obedient even as far as death, the death of the cross (Phil. ii. 6 ff.). The human experience of Jesus, with all its suffering and shame, St Paul regards as a wholly unique proof of the divine love (Rom. v. 8). There is an ethical majesty about it which compels adoration. And the only adequate expression of that adoration, the only adequate response to such love, is self-forgetting service laid at the feet of the Redeemer. St Paul understood the mind of Christ. He had entered with whole-hearted sympathy into His saving purpose for humanity. To carry forward Christ's mission is the supreme evidence of loyalty to His person. "Having this ministry [the ministry concerned with the new relationship between God and man in Jesus Christ], *according as we were shown mercy*, we do not grow weary" (2 Cor. iv. 1). The Master expects such

obedience. "He died for all that those who live should live no longer for themselves but for Him who died for them and was raised" (2 Cor. v. 15). Nay more. The proclamation of the gospel to sinners is a direct commission from Christ Himself. "On Christ's behalf, therefore, we are ambassadors, as though God were entreating you through us: we beseech you on Christ's behalf, be reconciled to God" (*ib.*, ver. 20). Apostleship, that is to say, means taking Christ's place in establishing the Kingdom of God in the world.

While clearly recognising the special constituents of St Paul's missionary motive which we have just considered, let us further note the emphasis which he invariably lays on his consciousness of a very definite personal vocation. In language which reminds us precisely of Jeremiah's account of his call to the prophetic career (Jer. i. 5), St Paul tells how God had set him apart from his birth to be a missionary to the heathen world (Gal. i. 15 f.). He has become aware of this peculiar divine purpose for himself by reflection on the whole course of his personal history. He is able to discern how events of the most diverse character have gradually shaped themselves towards one particular end. What amazes him above all else is that he, Saul,

Personal
vocation.

the bigoted Pharisee, the blasphemer of the crucified Messiah, the furious persecutor of the followers of Jesus, should be thus singled out for so glorious a mission. "I am the least of the apostles, that am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am" (1 Cor. xv. 9, 10). But the sheer marvel of the divine compassion becomes to him a source of extraordinary strength and comfort. If God has lavished His wisdom and love in overcoming his prejudices, humbling his pride, and leading him in the triumphal procession of the victorious Christ (2 Cor. ii. 14), His design for him must be uniquely momentous. And it is impossible to conceive the failure of that design, which has been prepared for despite such formidable obstacles. Here we reach the very kernel of St Paul's much-misconceived idea of election. From the point of view of his religious experience it means that God's gracious way with an individual like himself cannot be something accidental but must belong to the spiritual order of the universe. In this direction, therefore, is to be found the indispensable background of his missionary motive. It strikes its roots into an unchanging purpose of Almighty God Himself.

But again, St Paul is convinced that to his missionary vocation there belongs a peculiar function. This he is never weary of proclaiming. Indeed it is the presupposition of all his apostolic labours. "To me was made known by revelation the mystery [*i.e.* the secret divine purpose now unveiled] . . . which in other generations was not made known to the sons of men . . . that the Gentiles are heirs along with us and members of the same body and partakers with us of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (Eph. iii. 3 ff.). The discovery which St Paul announces with throbbing heart has lost for us the romance of its first impression. But if we are to understand the Apostle at all, we must endeavour to recreate his first-century environment. For his discovery was nothing less than the inspiring force of a religious and social revolution. The new relationship to God disclosed for men in Jesus Christ means that "there is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or freeman, there is no longer male and female: for all of you are one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). In these words all the fundamental antitheses of the old world are resolved. One epoch is for ever closed. A new day has begun to dawn.

His own
especial
mission to
the Gentiles.

From what has been already said it is

The mission to the Gentiles springs out of his experience of conversion.

evident that St Paul's assurance of a special commission to the heathen world is bound up with the meaning of his conversion-experience. To learn in the throes of a spiritual crisis that the attitude of legalistic religion towards God is not only ineffectual but a positive hindrance to the inward joy and sense of victory which is the supreme satisfaction of the soul is to alter all one's spiritual bearings. It is to get behind that barrier of social prerogative which counted for so much in the ancient world. It is to see man stripped of all adventitious aids, to reach him in his naked humanity.

At one stroke the divine appeal to sinful men becomes universal in its scope. The lower the stage of degradation which has been touched, the more urgent the need for the proclamation of a redemptive power. "They that are healthy need not the physician, but they that are sick." He has caught most of the temper of his Master, who dedicates himself to the service of the most hopeless. We can appreciate, therefore, what St Paul means when he speaks of God as having called him by His grace "to reveal his Son in me that I might preach the good news of him among the Gentiles" (Gal. i. 15, 16). The necessary issue of the Apostle's new conception

of God was the claim of humanity to be brought into living contact with Him. The fulness of the time had assuredly come. For him henceforward it was impossible to think of a Deity who restricted Himself to a single chosen people or nation. And we may observe in passing that this formed one of the chief foundations of that remarkable religious philosophy of the universe which speaks of "all things" as "summed up" (Eph. i. 10) or "reconciled to God" (Col. i. 20) in Christ. The "body" of Christ must be maimed and paralysed if severed from vital contact with Gentile humanity. So that St Paul became a missionary to the heathen, not owing to some personal fancy or to some accidental combination of circumstances, but because his interpretation of the God whom he had met in Christ laid this vocation upon him as a primary necessity.

The Epistles give eloquent testimony of the persecution St Paul had to endure at the hands of Jewish Christians who could not understand the breadth of his outlook because they could not penetrate the depths of his transforming experience. These men misinterpreted his motives because they were content to measure them by their own narrow standards. But here again the divine wisdom was

ST PAUL'S
OUTLOOK
JUSTIFIED
BY EVENTS

justified by her works (Matt. xi. 19). The vision which had broken upon his soul with wonder was translated into fact. Those who, with believing hearts, listened to his heralding of a Gospel for all men, became partakers of the gift of the Spirit (Gal. iii. 2). St Paul could appeal to results with unfaltering confidence (2 Cor. iii. 2 f.). Even the leaders of the Church at Jerusalem, for whom his position involved a mental revolution, were compelled to recognise from the fruits of his labours that he had been entrusted with the Gospel to non-Jewish peoples (Gal. ii. 7 f.). That they did so with frankness and decision was due to that delicate sensibility to the workings of the divine Spirit by which the Church of the first century was preserved from permanent discord and cleavage.

Here, then, as in every phase of his Christian achievement, we can only understand the course which St Paul followed by realising as fully as possible the impact of Christ's revelation upon a singularly sensitive spirit. "You are not your own, for you were bought with a price" (1 Cor. vi. 19, 20). These words of his to the Corinthians are not rhetorical exaggeration. They are wrought out of a passionate conviction, reached by a tremendous sacrifice of prejudice and pride. But if we

are in danger of laying undue emphasis on the renunciation which is suggested by them, let us not forget that for the Apostle this renunciation is completely overshadowed by the splendour of the gift which the divine generosity has lavished on the redeemed. For it is St Paul who has also said: "All things are yours, for you are Christ's, and Christ is God's."

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CHAPTER III

BY THE REV. P. H. L. BRERETON, M.A.

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE IN THE CONVERSION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

This is a period of gradual expansion.
Every Christian was a missionary.

I. EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF THE PERIOD.

The preparation for Christianity in the Empire.

The beginnings of persecution and the reason for it.

The attitude of the Church to the Roman power.

The birth of the hope of converting the Empire.

The struggle for supremacy.

The persecutions of Decius and Diocletian.
Constantine.

The proportion of Christians in the Empire.
Christians are found in all ranks and classes.
The Catholicity of the Church.

II. INNER CONDITIONS AND FORCES.

The decay of polytheism.

The futility of philosophy.

Immorality and corruption.

Movements towards religious revival.

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The main elements in the appeal of the Gospel to the Empire.

The witness of the Christians to Christ.

Reasons for the strength of this witness.

III. MOTIVES.

Self-preservation.

Pity for those without Christ.

Devotion to Jesus Christ and to His kingdom.

Involuntary impulses. The guiding of the Spirit.

Missionary activity sprang directly from the life of the Church.

The need for unity.

ST PAUL in his missionary journeys carried the Gospel from a remote Eastern province to the capital of the Roman Empire. We cannot tell how much truth is contained in the legends which describe the missionary activity of the other Apostles. St Peter and St John at least left their native land, and probably most of them set out to fulfil their Master's solemn charge, "Go ye and make disciples of all the nations." But, although little more than two centuries intervened before Christianity received the official patronage of the Empire, we do not find in the history of this interval records of great missionary travels or of widespread evangelistic campaigns. From time to time we catch glimpses of the rapid growth and expansion

A time of gradual expansion.

of the new religion, as by its innate truth and vigour it penetrated heathen surroundings ; we watch the rise of a new people heterogeneous in nationality and language, but united in a common faith and loyalty, ready for the most part to suffer contempt and persecution and to resist ubiquitous heathen influences.

Every
Christian a
missionary.

In these circumstances each zealous Christian believer was a missionary wherever he found himself, for he lived under a heathen government. The polytheism of the State religion confronted him wherever he turned ; the city or village to which he belonged and often his own family circle gave him a field for the work of conversion. Thus the character of the missionary labours of the early Church after the first great diffusion in the days of St Paul was in the main home work, and not a journeying into foreign parts.¹ The Christians in the world were compared to the soul within the body : " the soul is diffused throughout the limbs of the body, so are the Christians through the cities of the world. . . . The soul is shut up in the body, and yet holds the body together."

¹ There was, however, plenty of intercourse between the Churches and with Rome especially. Notable travellers were Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, Origen, and others.

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(*Epistle to Diognetus*, 2nd cent.). The heaven was at work within the three measures of meal, which for our purpose may denote the Jewish, Greek, and Roman world.

We shall examine in this chapter first the external aspects of the period, and then the undercurrents of opposing forces and missionary motives, which animated the world and the Church in their conflict.

Much has been written on the early Roman Empire regarded as a seed-plot for the Christian religion. The study is an attractive one. Hostile writers are eager to find reasons for the amazing spread of the Gospel, while Christians gladly trace a providential preparation for the Advent of Him who came in "the fulness of the time." Good government and roads played no small part in the nurture of the infant Church. Roman genius, too, was shown in the perpetuation or toleration of what was beneficial to its interests or dear to its subject peoples. The Greek language and with it Greek literature and philosophy were patronised and cultivated. Greek was spoken in the greater part of the Empire and even in Rome itself, expediting not only Imperial administration, but also the propagation of Christian books and doctrines.

I.—EXTERNAL
ASPECTS OF
THE PERIOD.

The prepara-
tion for the
Gospel in the
Empire.

Similarly toleration of the Mosaic religion, monotheistic and aggressive as it was, was a feature of Roman policy, a sign of respect perhaps for the determined national spirit of the Jews. The Church not only inherited from the Jews the Divine truths of the Old Testament, but enjoyed in its infancy the toleration accorded to them by the government. Roman, Greek, and Jew, in fact, though they hated and opposed the upstart society, involuntarily contributed to its ultimate triumph.

The begin-
nings of per-
secution.

To the Gentile, Christianity seemed a Jewish sect, until the discovery was made that it repudiated the national limitations of Judaism, and aimed at universal conquest. Various events hastened this discovery. The Neronian persecution drew attention to the Christians and to what Tacitus describes as their hatred of the human race. Their flight from Jerusalem at the approach of Vespasian, and their subsequent settlement in the city, which the Jews in Hadrian's reign were forbidden to approach on pain of death, pointed to the same conclusion; and for Christianity as such there was no toleration. It was not a national religion. Its secrecy caused grave suspicion, for its mysteries were withdrawn from the public gaze. It seemed unpatriotic,

Reasons for
persecution.

for Christians often felt unable to serve in the Roman armies or to undertake certain civil responsibilities. It obliterated distinctions of rank, threw contempt upon time-honoured customs and beliefs, and served another King than Cæsar. Pliny, Governor of Bithynia, was in doubt whether Christians should be treated as bandits, but since he found that they entirely refused to sacrifice or renounce Christ, he felt that they ought to be punished for their contumacy. Before the second century was over the charge at any time or place might be brought against them, *non licet esse vos*.

But the Empire vacillated in its policy. Tyrants like Nero and Domitian persecuted to suit their own purposes or gratify their vindictiveness, while the great emperors of the second century contented themselves for the most part in protecting Christians from mob violence, only punishing them if they persistently and openly opposed the law. The religious-minded Marcus Aurelius, however, took up a much severer attitude. He regarded the Christians both as rebels and as fanatics of a perverse and mischievous kind. Probably he understood little of the true Gospel, and what he did seemed to him to be of radical and socialistic tendencies. Its high estimate

Vacillating
policy of
Rome

of lowliness and trustfulness was the negation of Stoic independence and self-sufficiency. The determination of the Christians, impressed upon his mind by the martyrs at Lyons and elsewhere, was censured by him as sheer obstinacy. The final struggle might have come a century earlier than it did, had not Commodus, his weak and vicious son, reversed his hostile policy and weakened the Imperial power.

The attitude
of the Church
to the Roman
power.

Before reviewing Rome's last efforts to crush the Church, it will be well to turn back to a consideration of the Church's attitude towards the power that wielded the sword.

The Epistles.

The Pauline Epistles inculcate reverence for the powers that be. St Peter takes the same view. Roman magistrates were ministers of God sent for vengeance on evil-doers and for praise to them that do well. But the tone of the Apocalypse is markedly different. Rome is the great world-force opposed to God and His saints. She is drunk with their blood. The promised vengeance and the Advent of the Lord Jesus are eagerly awaited. "How long, O Master holy and true?" is the cry of the souls of martyrs beneath the heavenly altar. Evidently the book reflects a time of bitter stress and urgent need, whether its catastrophic solution of the seeming impasse

The Apoca-
lypse.

In Conversion of Roman Empire 67

was inspired by the cruelties of the days of Nero or Domitian.

The ardent Ignatius breathed a similar Ignatius. spirit of uncompromising hostility to the world. "These are the last times," he writes. "Nothing visible is good." "The prince of this world would fain tear me in pieces and corrupt my mind to Godward." He was passionately eager for martyrdom. "Then shall I truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when the world shall not so much as see my body."

The moderation of Clement of Rome con- Clement of trasts with the tone of Ignatius. Though Rome. writing in the midst of Domitian's persecution and fully aware of the pressing danger, he dwells on the order of Nature and the seemliness of the godly life. His main object is to admonish those who, from within, disturb Christian peace. The Apologists of the second The Apolo- century addressed the heathen in a concilia- gists. tory spirit, and endeavoured to show the reasonableness of the Christian ideal and its usefulness to the State. Christians would pray for Cæsar, though they might not sacrifice to him. They were ready to bear their share in all things as citizens, saving only in the recognition of false gods and the defilements of public shows.

The growing
hope of con-
verting the
Empire.

As the expectation of the immediate return of the Lord died down, the Church realised that there were powers and problems in the world outside it with which a careful reckoning had to be made. Without compromising its principles it took thought for the morrow and reasonable measures for the protection of its increasing adherents. The Apologists were at pains to expose the baseless charges made against Christians. Excessive desire for martyrdom was discouraged, and the inordinate claims of confessors checked. Montanism with its fanatical and uncompromising standards was repudiated, and orthodox leaders counselled moderation and prudence. The hope of converting the Empire to their side gave them vigilance and patience, and braced them for the sharp stages of the conflict that yet remained.

The struggle
for
supremacy.

The struggle in the third century was not only for the right to live but for supremacy. Tertullian's words have all the confidence of ultimate success. "We are of yesterday, but we have filled your whole world, cities, islands . . . even the camps . . . the palace, the senate, the bar. We have left you only your temples." Yet the century opened with fiery trial for the Egyptian and African Churches. Clement of Alexandria

Egypt and
Africa.

In Conversion of Roman Empire 69

writes of martyrs "seen every day before our eyes roasted, crucified, beheaded." Many apostatised, but the eagerness of a large number is illustrated by the case of the youthful Origen, who was prevented from sharing the martyrdom of his father by his mother's device of hiding his clothes. The touching narrative of Perpetua and her companions bears witness to the heroism of the Christians in Africa. The pitiful entreaties of Perpetua's father, the horrors of the prison, the games, the gladiators, the bears, leopards and wild cows, all play their part in a drama which is not tragic because it is triumphant. The writer, who is perhaps Tertullian, describes how at length, half-dead, they rose, gave each other the kiss of peace, and received the final release of the knife.

The Decian persecution in the middle of the century proved a sharp spur to the Christian purpose. The intervening period of rest for the Churches had borne fruit in lukewarmness, worldliness, and not a few grave scandals. Decius, "a Trajan fallen on evil days," made an abortive attempt to re-establish heathenism. His edict against the Christians opened a general persecution, and there were many apostates. But the Church was strengthened by their loss. There

The Decian persecution.

was no lack of martyrs. The Bishops of Rome and Antioch were among those who died for the faith. Origen, one of the greatest teachers of the Church and an unwearied propagator of the faith, was imprisoned and subsequently died of the tortures he received. A few years later, Cyprian, the great Bishop of Carthage, was beheaded. He left behind him an immense influence throughout the West and the memory of the Christian dignity shown at his trial and death. His martyrdom was a conspicuous Christian triumph. Thenceforth there could have been little doubt among thoughtful men, whether friends or foes, as to the ultimate issue of the struggle.

Final persecution.

Forty years later came the final persecution which bears, somewhat unfairly, the name of Diocletian. The bloodthirsty cruelties of his colleagues, Maximian, Galerius, and Maximin Daza, disgusted even the heathen, and Maxentius put an end to the persecution in Italy to curry favour with the Roman mob. Whatever were Constantine's real convictions, his genius as a statesman made him both the champion of Christianity and supreme in the Roman world. It is not difficult to imagine the enthusiasm of those wonderful days, when the Church emerged from its fiercest trial to celebrate the victory of the Cross. The great

Constantine.

In Conversion of Roman Empire 71

prophecy, that the kingdom of the world would become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, seemed fulfilled. On the contrary there was a new and untried conflict before the Church and a fresh goal for her missionary zeal. Yet she had won a permanent victory and left an inalienable legacy of hope for all who would work and suffer for the kingdom in the days to come.

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the actual proportion of Christians to heathen in the Empire when Constantine declared for the former. Gibbon estimated the number of Christians as at most one-twentieth part of a whole population of 120 millions. More recent writers have put the proportion much higher, a twelfth or a tenth. Some assert that they numbered a fifth or even a half. Professor Harnack in his illuminating work, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, decidedly rejects the last estimate as too high. His own conclusions are roughly as follows. In Asia Minor, Armenia, Cyprus, and part of Thrace the proportion was nearly one half. In the regions connected with the great cities of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage, as well as in Spain, South Gaul, and the Eastern coasts of Greece "Christianity formed a very

The number
of Christians
in the
Empire.

important section of the population, influencing the leading classes and the general civilisation of the people, and being capable of holding its own with other religions." On the other hand it was thinly scattered in Palestine, Arabia, the Lower Danube provinces and in certain other districts ; while in the Upper Danube and Rhine provinces and in the outlying portions of the Empire generally it was hardly to be found at all. This kind of estimate is more instructive than a simple numerical proportion however exact. It shows us first that Christianity was more firmly established in the East than in the West, and secondly, that it was found round the coasts of the Mediterranean and in the great centres of civilisation rather than elsewhere. The Christians, following St Paul's example, made a bold bid for the heart of the Empire and sought to win the great cities for Christ. The country districts were not neglected, though the scarcity of records makes it more difficult for us to trace their history.

Christians
found in
every rank
of life.

As the Gospel expanded locally, so also it spread socially into every rank of life. Long before Constantine there were Imperial hearers and patrons. Philip, the predecessor of Decius, was reputed to be a Christian. Origen is said to have corresponded with him and others of

Imperial rank, notably Julia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander Severus. Even in the first century Clement a Consul, and cousin of the Emperor, perished, charged with atheism, which in this case probably meant Christianity. His wife Domitilla, niece of Domitian, was also implicated and suffered banishment. There is indeed no doubt that the Gospel reached those in the highest rank of life, the cultured and the wealthy, as well as those of humblest station. The evidence of the Catacombs is invaluable in this connection. In that great subterranean labyrinth there are memorials of rich and poor, learned and ignorant, freeborn and slaves, the members of an universal Brotherhood.

There was thus a vast catholicity in ideal and in actual achievement in the early Church. It broke down all barriers and claimed all men and all things for Christ. Doubtless there was some isolation of Churches locally, especially in the earlier days. Ecclesiastical organisation developed slowly, and we hear little of synods before the third century, yet there was much informal interchange of care and thought and sympathy between the Churches. Irenaeus could appeal to the established sanctity of Apostolic tradition, and to the one faith held by the Church in

The Catholicity of the Church.

every land. The Christians regarded themselves as members of one vast army,¹ bound by a *sacramentum*, their baptismal pledge of loyalty to Christ. Again and again we hear that the victories, defeats, or privations of one contingent stirred in a practical manner the joy or grief of others, and quickened their devotion to Christ. In many ways they had their local customs and problems, but they were members one of another in Him "whom God gave to be the Head over all things to the Church."

II.—INNER
CONDITIONS
AND FORCES.

Passing from the external aspects of the Christian mission in the Roman world, we must look at what lay underneath the surface in the need and hostility of the world and in the hearts and lives of the evangelisers.

The decay of
polytheism.

The decay of Greek and Roman polytheism was apparent long before the Christian era. Though it was patched up with foreign elements, it moved the ridicule or contempt even of its adherents. Men grew ashamed of gods who, if they had been men, would have been reckoned brutal and vicious. Then

¹ The term *pagan* has been generally understood as denoting "villager" or "rustic," a term applied to the heathen after the conversion of the Empire. But *paganus* is also used in the special sense of "civilian," and probably it was intended to denote those who were not members of the Christian army.

was introduced by Roman statesmanship the strange phenomenon of Cæsar-worship. This deified patriotism and worship of might was not long-lived and soon became a jest among the emperors themselves, but it was propagated officially with the greatest seriousness. It became a vital point at issue between the Empire and the Church. Its repudiation by the latter made the Christian religion illicit. Rome's interest in other religions was practically confined to their attitude towards Cæsarism. There is some truth in Gibbon's cynical remark that "the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful."

Philosophy, too, was on its trial and was being found wanting. There are fine elements observable in the systems of thought and practice current in the first two centuries A.D. Men like Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius were a credit to Stoicism. The conceptions of duty and brotherhood inspired by it were sterling assets. But both in Stoicism and Epicureanism, and still more in the Oriental systems of thought, there was a deep pessimistic strain. Suicide was the Stoic's door of escape when fortune frowned

Philosophy
found
wanting.

too much. Practical atheism was the Epicurean's creed, for he thought the gods too wise to care for men. A dark dualism, which regarded matter as evil and existence as bondage, flowed in upon the Empire from the East, and syncretised with Christianity in Gnosticism.

Sensuality
and
corruption.

The moral tone of the heathen world could not but suffer grievously from this decadence. We should probably be wrong in taking St Paul's dark picture in Romans, chap. i., as representing the general state of society. Between the luxurious plutocrats of the great cities and such pauperised rabbles as the Roman mob, there must have been a large section of the middle class, sober, thrifty, and independent. Yet in most quarters there were signs of grievous corruption. Sensuality was openly indulged and even had the patronage of religion. Slavery with its attendant evils was so firmly rooted that the Church sought to alleviate and purify rather than abolish it. The coarseness and brutality of the stage and amphitheatre were avoided and denounced by the Christians. They were firmly convinced that the heathen gods were demons, in a thousand ways deluding and ensnaring men's souls.

The world was not unconscious of its need

of a vital faith and a purer life. There was a strong movement towards religious revival in the second century. Eastern mysticism, the cults of Isis and Mithras, neo-Pythagoreanism, and rather later neo-Platonism, exercised their influence in response to a felt need. How far the sense of sin and the yearning for redemption and communion with God were the outcome of these new faiths, and how far they were unacknowledged influences of the spread of the Gospel is a matter of doubt. "It is true," says Dr Orr in this connection, "that Christianity was persecuted, was regarded with contempt and scorn, but we must not be deceived by this into supposing that its influence was not telling silently and secretly on multitudes in the Empire, and that it was not affecting Paganism in many indirect ways, even where the obligation to it was not openly acknowledged."¹ However this may be, there was a real search for a Saviour and a feeling after God among the Gentiles, and the Gospel triumphed because it held the true answer to that need. How could Christians refrain from missionary work when they had what all the world was seeking?

Movements
towards
religious
revival.

The indirect
effects of the
Gospel.

¹ *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, p. 203.

Main
elements in
the appeal of
the Gospel
to the Roman
world.

Harnack selects four points from the Gospel teaching as combining to form the new religion, setting it in bold relief above all rivals: (1) The one living God, (2) Jesus our Saviour and Judge, (3) the resurrection of the flesh, (4) self-control.¹ In each of these points the Gospel had a message suited to the times. It claimed to reveal Him for whom polytheist and pantheist alike sought. News of a Saviour and a Judge was of vital interest to world-weary souls and sin-awakened consciences. The confident faith in a glorious resurrection, which especially characterised the Christians in the eyes of the heathen, was instinct with a spirit of hopefulness, sadly lacking elsewhere. In the Church it animated poor and crippled, slave and outcast, captive and martyr. Tertullian gives characteristic expression to this eagerness. "We want to serve no longer; our wish is to reign soon." Lastly, the Gospel showed the possibility for all of the ideal of self-control. The lofty ethical standard of Christ's teaching was not thrown away on the pagans. They, too, as we have seen, had their sublime moralists.

¹ Harnack, *Mission* vol. i. p. 91. He says, "One of the distinctive ideas in Christianity was the paradox that the Saviour was also the Judge, an idea which gave it a special pre-eminence over other religions."

But here was One who not only said, "This is the way," but "I am the Way." The Church taught that in Christ the life of holiness is for all, and she offered her spiritual mysteries as aids to faith. The cleansing of sin in Baptism, the heavenly sustenance of the soul in the Communion Feast, were ideas germane to the religious aspirations of the day. To some, like Porphyry the Neoplatonist, the sacraments were stumbling-blocks and objects of cavil, but to large numbers they appealed as a specially attractive feature of the new religion.

Above all, the Christians brought with their Gospel a living witness to the life it promised. As missionaries they strove to "adorn the doctrine of our God and Saviour in all things." "Among us," Athenagoras claims, "are uneducated folk, artizans, and old women, who are utterly unable to describe the value of our doctrines in words, but who attest them by their deeds." It is easy, no doubt, to over-estimate the piety of the early Christians. We must be careful how we ascribe at any period a high degree of consistency to great masses in the Church. There was doubtless justification for much of the pagan cavil. But we have also less biassed testimony to their charity. "They become

The witness of Christians to their faith.

incredibly alert," says the keen-witted Lucian, "when anything occurs that affects their common interests. On such occasions no expense is grudged." Tertullian quotes the remarks, "See, how they love one another," and "See, how they are prepared to die for one another," to show how even their opponents did not fail to recognise Christ's spirit of love in His disciples. The great plague in Alexandria about 260 gave occasion for the exercise of Christian virtues. Dionysius, the Bishop, describes how gladly and unsparingly the brethren ministered to their sick and dying, how the heathen on the contrary "abandoned those who began to sicken, fled from their dearest friends, threw out the sick when half dead into the streets, and let the dead lie unburied." Nor was the charity of the Christians restricted in its outflow to members of their own society. Cyprian, in similar circumstances, exhorted his flock to assist the heathen as well as the household of faith; and Eusebius, writing of the plague in the reign of Maximin Daza says, "Then did they show themselves to the heathen in the clearest light." Besides attending to the dead, the Christians "gathered in one spot all who were afflicted by hunger throughout the whole city, and gave bread to

them all. When this became known, people glorified the Christians' God."

In estimating the witness of the Christian life one point is of importance. Generally speaking the Christians were converts. At the end of the second century Tertullian could say, *Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani*. They were Christians by conviction, not by descent. For this reason they were likely to possess the greater missionary zeal. From a worldly or comfortable point of view it was not an attractive society which they joined. The Churches tended the needy and gave liberally in charity, but on the whole there was no great danger of "Rice-Christians." There were long periods of rest from persecution, and when persecution suddenly arose there were many who fell away, yet at all times "the sword of Damocles hung over every Christian's neck, and at any given moment he was sorely tempted to deny his faith since denial meant freedom from all molestation" (Harnack). Any disaster or calamity might draw from the populace the terrible cry, "Christians to the lions!" These dangers called forth a triumphant display of Christian faith and courage. "The cross was not worn as an ornament." That quality which men like Pliny and Marcus Aurelius mistook for

Reasons for the strength of this witness.

i. They were converts.

ii. Persecution.

obstinacy won numbers to the faith. The Acts of the martyrs are full of instances of conversion produced by their courage and constancy. The case of Basilides, an officer in the Roman army at Alexandria, who was converted by the example of his prisoner, Potamiaena, and shared her fate, is typical. Tertullian's oft-quoted words are capable of abundant proof: "The oftener we are mown down by you, the larger grow our numbers. The blood of Christians is seed."

III.—MOTIVES.

We are now in a position to set out some of the motives which appear to have stirred the Christians to active propagation of their faith within the Empire.

i. Self-preservation.

(1) There was the subordinate but practical motive of self-preservation. The one weapon they had to oppose to the cruelty and malice of their persecutors was persuasion. To some extent the Church might hide its existence and worship, as within the Catacombs. But the taint of idolatry so pervaded the daily life of all ranks of society¹ that the Christians were unable, as they were also for the most part unwilling, to hide their light under a bushel. The charges against them of want of patriotism and contemptible idleness are

¹ Cf. Lightfoot, *Historical Essays*, pp. 15 ff.

indications how impossible it was for them to live like other people. Many besides the literary Apologists must have striven to win over the heathen for the sake of those dear to them and for the whole persecuted body.

(2) Pity for those for whom Christ died, who yet were without God and without hope, was a more fundamental motive. The Church was strongly impressed with the unique character of the revelation given to it. "There is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." She could not neglect the heathen in their blindness. The whole world lay under the evil one, oppressed by demons. "Were it not for us," says Tertullian, "who would free you from those hidden foes that are ever making havoc of your health in soul and body—from those raids of the demons, I mean, which we repel from you without reward or hire." It is unnecessary to multiply quotations in this connection. On all sides there is evidence that the Christians eagerly desired to carry the Gospel of the Saviour to those in darkness and need.

(3) A still more fundamental motive was devotion to Jesus Christ. The ideal of His kingdom was never far away. The imposing grandeur of the Roman Empire with

ii. Pity for those without Christ.

iii. Devotion to Jesus Christ.
His Kingdom.

its world-inclusive tendencies and its one supreme head must have helped the Christians to keep the vision of the Catholic Church clear before them. The Church was the spiritual counterpart of the Empire. It drew many of its current metaphors, and much of its organisation (especially from the time of Constantine onwards) from the Empire of the Cæsars. There was deep insight in the malice of the Jews when they pretended that Christ was Cæsar's rival. To His disciples Christ was above Cæsar, and when claims clashed, the lesser had to give way.

His Person.

But their devotion had a yet more personal touch. Their King was their Saviour, who had won them by His infinite love and given them light and peace. In his noble answer to the Roman magistrate Polycarp expressed in simplest terms this devotion: "Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?" How could such disciples rest while their Saviour's name was dishonoured, or until they had made all men see the glorious truth which they saw? They had a vivid sense that their Lord was waiting for them to act, that in and through them He would take His power and reign. He did not want them by themselves. It

was His will to be with them always and go with them everywhere, doing good, healing the sick, casting out devils, giving spiritual life and light to all. They were missionaries for the sake of the Saviour who had borne for them, and was still doing for them, more than their tongue could tell.

(4) Finally, there was not so much a conscious motive, as an involuntary impulse iv. Involuntary impulse urging them to proclaim the Gospel. The feeling that "woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel," was not confined to St Paul. Missionary work is the work of the Holy Spirit carried on against the spiritual powers of evil. Individuals, as they were called by the Spirit, as they were caught up in the current of His vital activity, the presence of which is most felt in periods of spiritual crisis, went forth with little counting of the cost or analysis of motives wherever the Spirit led. They felt themselves part of a great host, filled with indomitable purpose by the power from on high; and when a comrade fell in the conflict, on the martyr's resting-place they inscribed their simple creed, "In peace: in Christ: he lives!"

From this it follows that missionary expansion was an essential product of the vitality of the undivided Church. The

Missionary activity sprang directly from the life of the Church.

Churches of modern times have their missionary departments, and within the various denominations societies are formed to extend Christ's kingdom at home and abroad. A particular phase of Christian activity is thus kept in view and promoted. Such a state of things must have been inconceivable in the early Church. As there was One Spirit, so not only ideally but visibly there was One Body. The growth of the Body, the expansion of the Church, was of the essence of its life. Individual Christians could never regard the work of spreading the gospel as requiring a special vocation beyond what they owed to their Master as members of His Body. Whether they were faithful or unfaithful to their profession, they knew that it was the duty of every Christian to proclaim Christ to the heathen in word and deed.

The necessity of unity.

Must we not conclude that "our unhappy divisions" not only cause inconvenient overlappings in missionary work and raise perplexing doubts in the minds of those to whom the Gospel is preached, but are even more seriously detrimental to the growth of Christ's Church? The Church's fundamental business is to grow. This is its life, not one of its many activities. For the re-awakening and re-quickenings of Christian

lands, as well as for the conversion and up-building of heathen peoples, we need a restored Christian unity, a unity established in love, loyalty, and faith, that the Church may be strong for the overthrow of the spiritual powers of darkness, and full of hope to win the world for Christ. The whole Church united in the Holy Spirit achieved a great victory over the Roman Empire in the days of Constantine. Will not all Christians pray in these days of great and growing missionary enterprise and sacrifice that the whole Church re-united in the Holy Spirit may establish the Christian Faith throughout the world, and that the future destinies of such ancient heathen empires as India and China may be shaped, not by pagan or material considerations, but by the laws and ideals of the kingdom of Christ ?

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James Orr. *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*. Hodder & Stoughton. 3s 6d

There are well-known Text-books on Early Church History by F. J. Foakes Jackson (containing an analysed table of contents) and by Leighton Pullan; also a short but admirable study by H. N. Bate in the Oxford Church Text-books (1s.).

CHAPTER IV

BY THE REV. W. H. FRERE, D.D.

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE IN MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS

TWO CLASSES OF MOTIVES—IMPULSION FROM WITHIN AND ATTRACTION FROM WITHOUT.

The Empire and the Barbarians—the call of
the heathen across the frontiers.

Changing theology and the doom of the
heathen.

The motive of pity.

The imperial idea.

The Celtic missionaries.

Conscience.

Spiritual romance.

The joining of the two factors in England.

The East.

The decadence of missions and the Crusades.

The revival of missions under the Friars.

THREE POINTS OF ESPECIAL IMPORTANCE.

The place of Monasticism.

The place of Women's work.

The place of Dogmatic theology.

REFLEXIONS.

The Bearing of this Retrospect upon Modern
Motives.

The Missionary Motive

The motive of pity for the doomed is seen in a different form.

The desire to serve where Christianity is not nominal.

The claim of the Kingdom.

Human imperialism.

The inner call.

The need for examining our equipment to-day in view of the successes and failures of the past.

HUMAN motives are always complex whether they be high or low. This is the case not merely because men are urged in rival directions by contending forces, but also because, when they are impelled in one direction, it is usually by the resultant of many varying forces. It is therefore with "motives" in the plural, rather than with "motive" in the singular, that we have to deal, in attempting to describe, in any era, the power that lies behind and stimulates human effort to extend the kingdom of God ; and we shall find them to be various and not altogether harmonious.

Two classes
of motives.

In investigating the missionary motives of the Mediæval Church, we will try to distinguish them into two classes,—the impulsion from within and the attraction from without. The distinction, though arbitrary, may be illuminating. The Mediæval Church as it

found itself becoming steadily entrenched in the Roman Empire, began to feel the call for evangelisation from every side. As it mastered the cities, it heard the call of the country places; as it erected the kingdom of God into a practical, almost political, conception, which might take the place of the idea of the Empire, now becoming more and more overrun by the Barbarians, it felt a more pronounced responsibility for the Roman World and for the heathen peoples that were pouring into it.

So long as there was still an imperial frontier to be maintained, there was always a home area, still demanding in part to be Christianised : and, further, since frontiers are arbitrary lines, especially in days when they are easily transgressed, there comes an increasingly urgent call from beyond. Pathos and policy unite in it. Heathenism is in itself essentially pathetic. Besides, it is impolitic to let the neighbours, ever pressing and scarcely arrested on the other side of the line, remain heathen or even heretic, for at any moment they may be establishing themselves on the near side.

The call of the heathen across the frontiers.

The imperial idea.

Armenia has been for some centuries now a competent rival to the Empire on the eastern border; and its rivalry is still being well

Armenians and Goths.

maintained. Less ancient but very urgent is the pressure which begins to be shown on the northern frontier by the Gothic tribes. So it becomes imperative to convert Armenians or Goths; and Gregory the Illuminator, and Ulfilas, each feel the call to return from Christian surroundings and undertake the task.

The case of Northern Africa supplies an interesting variant. Here the progress of the task of conversion in its original stage is to us little known. The Roman provinces had become Christian, apparently by a process of infiltration. But now they have been lost to the barbarians; and in consequence the process of conversion has to enter upon a second stage, in order to tame the Vandal invaders, and keep the old area Christian.

Changing
Theology.

Pity for the
heathen
becomes
a motive.

St Martin
in Gaul.

The theology of the missionary outlook also seems to be changing; gloomier views of salvation, and more exclusive, have come in with the troubles of the Empire; and the unbaptised heathen is more than ever to be pitied because he is eternally lost. To rescue him from the tortures of hell, which are more and more materialised in the popular mind, becomes a task to kindle the imagination. Watch the effect of this in St. Martin, the leader of the evangelisation of Northern Gaul in the second half of the fourth

century. Soldier though he is, his enthusiasm is already engaged elsewhere than in the army. To sacrifice himself for the Christian cause was his passion, but in the end pity determined the form that his heroism should take. The hermit life was what instinctively attracted him, and he remained wedded to hermit ideals even in the midst of all his later activities. But first, as soon as he is free from the army, and has learnt his task at the feet of St Hilary in Gaul, he must go back to wild Pannonia to win his father and mother to the faith. On the way the underlying motive reveals itself; for when taken by robbers on his journey across the Alps, and menaced with threats of death, he remains unmoved by any personal considerations, but only grieved and apprehensive for his captors. Only half successful in this filial task,—for his father remained pagan,—he turns back to Gaul, and for the sake of the heathen and their conversion foregoes even his own loved solitude and ascetic life.

Nearly a hundred years later the same features recur in the career of St Severin, the apostle of Austria. His first impulse had been to join the hermits and monks of the East: but the pity of suffering heathen-

St Severin
in Austria.

ism called continually within him for a different kind of self-surrender; till, obliterating his past, he tramped to the Danube, because God bade him come to the aid of the "suffering people" of that country.

St Gregory
and Britain.

Pass on to the end of the sixth century, and say; what is it that works in the mind of Gregory as he sees the fair hair and blue eyes of the Saxon. Is it not pity, to think that these should all be lost? True, they have cruelly persecuted and confined the British Christians:—they on their side are making no effort at taking a Christian revenge on their persecutors as yet: for the motive of pity never was the strong one of the Celtic missionary:—but then all the worse will be the torments of the poor heathen Saxon races; and all the keener, therefore, is Gregory's pity.

The imperial
idea.

But mixed with this is the old imperial idea. No one, in that day so much as Gregory, embodied the ancient conception of the Empire of the West. Therefore it is evident to him that these people beyond the pale must be brought in. The imperial idea seems a stronger motive in the mind of Gregory's envoys than that of the tragedy of heathen nations being lost. Their aim is to make a Roman province for Christ.

The idea is transmitted in some form to the barbarian kingdoms, which, as they rise in turn upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, inherit its imperialist spirit. Already Clovis Clovis. the Frank, who had been unmoved by the gentler influences of Christianity, succumbs and is baptised, when he sees, in his victories over his competitors, the signs of its dynastic value. And in his strange untamed fashion he goes on to win new provinces for Christ, though it be by the rough argument of the sword.

But even in better forms than that such a motive is inadequate for the task. In our English history we see especially clearly that the imperial motive is inadequate, and that another motive must be brought in to blend with this, before the conquest can be carried through.

If the Roman stands for the external compelling force in missionary motive, the Celt Interior
impulsion.
The Celt. stands for the interior impulsion, and it is this that is needed to take its share in England's conversion. We see the two blended, even in earlier days before the Saxon invasions. Patrick was probably both a Celt and a St Patrick
in Ireland. Roman citizen, and as such he had a sense of both. He never was able to quiet in his ears the voice of the Irish people who captured

him, fell in love with him, and were always calling him back. "We beseech thee, good youth," they said, "to come hither and walk among us." So the call haunted him. He had feared his captors and fled. He had travelled for his own soul's salvation, and then settled down in his British home. But the old feeling of fear and repulsion swung round steadily till it turned into pity: and Ireland called him incessantly, with a call that could not be silenced. But still more unquenchable was the inward monitor. Patrick could not help himself; he wished to prove his love by sacrifice; conscience perpetually pushed him to that way of self-oblation, and long attempts to stifle this impulsion only failed. So the day came when he surrendered to it, laid his plans, made his preparations and went—as much to quiet his own conscience as to convert his haunting barbarian captors.

Spiritual
romance.'

The British cease to be Roman citizens; and proportionately the imperial motive fails. But British they remain, and a new, very characteristic motive dominates them all, that of spiritual romance, and romantic self-sacrifice. *Peregrinari pro Christo* is what the Celtic monk finds himself forced to do. Columba's exile is voluntary; no penalty, no

Columba
at Iona.

penance, but a glad self-sacrifice. If he denies himself the sight of his home, it is in order to deny himself, and to win for Christ whomsoever he may encounter in his exile. Everywhere outside the Irish horizon there are heathen; all evoke his sympathy. But the Picts, the barbarians lying over the border of the Irish civilisation, are the special enemy. They have therefore a special claim; and Columba establishes his exile at Iona for their sake.

This spirit becomes hereditary at Iona: so when the appeal is heard from the South, and Northumbria summons teachers to re-establish the rule of Christ there, it shows itself afresh in Aidan. The call of the heathen is imperative: he has been trained to regard it so; and he is following the best traditions when obedience opens to him the way southward to Lindisfarne, and he welcomes the chance of exile in barbarous Northumbria.

Aidan in
Northumbria.

In the same spirit Columban restlessly traverses Europe, leaving behind him a wonderful monastic missionary organisation. His monasteries are dotted about France and even grow up in mid-Italy; for in the mountain districts of the Vosges or of the Alps pagan tribes are still to be sought out and converted.

Columban in
Europe.

Boniface and
the Frisians.

Even in Boniface, the type of the organiser, who not only converts but also systematises the Teutons, the same spirit is found ; for when he had handed over his main charge to his disciples, he could not be content to end his days at rest, but felt himself impelled to seek and find a chance of final and last self-sacrifice among the untameable Frisians. There is no need to multiply names further : these are representatives of a host of evangelists and martyrs, impelled by a spirit of Christian adventure, and by an inner disciplined missionary restlessness.

In England
the two
factors join.

Meanwhile in England the two streams again have blended. Attraction from without and impulsion from within are joined in animating the united Church of Theodore, and the missionaries which it sends out. Similarly the corporate idea of the kingdom, the conception of a world to be conquered and organised for Christ, has joined with personal spiritual ambition ; imperialism and romance are co-operating. So that same Boniface exhibits in his sphere the same blend ; for while he draws his inspiration from England, he takes his directions from Rome, and gladly co-operates in the organisation of the Church within the rising Frankish Empire.

We turn to the East to find that there the imperial idea has never died. The Empire is often hardly beset in the task of keeping up a bulwark of the Christian faith and a frontier for Christ in spite of ever pressing oriental tribes, but yet it has also maintained the aggressive tradition of the early days of Christian expansion. As the Slavs appear on the horizon, there arises a keen competition between the Eastern and Western Churches for the honour of converting them, and for the glory of incorporating new provinces into their respective areas. The Roman attitude is stiff and masterful. Pope Nicholas sends in 866 his directions to the Bulgarians; and in this and in subsequent dealings, much wisdom was blended with a characteristic incapacity to recognise the national characteristics of these peoples, the value for theology and worship of the Slavonic language, the natural affinity of orientals to the ways and outlook of the Eastern Church. Consequently the rival attempts of the Byzantine Church were more successful. The mission of Cyril and Methodius to the Slavs of Moravia proved to be the decisive step towards the Christianising of that whole group of nations; and the newly won provinces were attached to Constantinople rather than to Rome.

The East.

Imperial idea never lost.

The Slavs.

Rome and Byzantine.

Russia.

They continued to suffer from the ecclesiastical competition, and the Western Slavs eventually ranged themselves with the Teutons in the Western Church. But when the Russian Empire arose in the tenth century and in the person of Vladimir had to make its decision, between the rival missionary claims, as well as against the heathenism of his forefathers, again, as in the cases of Constantine and Clovis, the imperial idea predominated. He decided to bring his country into the Christian world, and gave his allegiance in it to Constantinople. So the policy of Cyril and Methodius had its final success, and by a century of splendid, though hidden, missionary work, the vast Russian world, still full of splendid and unrealised possibilities, became part of the Empire of Christ.

Decadence of missions.

The Crusades.

Then comes the decadence: missionary work melts into crusading—a fine task in a way, but a coarser one than conversion. The motives of personal sacrifice, heroism, romance, spiritual ambition, are turned over to that movement, just as are also the imperial motives of the extension, or at least the safeguard, of the Empire. Military methods prevail over the gentler methods of Christ. Great indeed was the work of monks and bishops like Anskar in Northern Germany,

who, impelled by the old love and pity, went forth armed only with the armour of God to conquer Denmark and Sweden, as the ninth century went on, by a series of bloodless victories. Also even two centuries later Otho was a worthy successor of Anskar; and Pomerania was won by like methods. But as times changed, armed coercion took the place of gentler evangelisation. The hard blows of recalcitrant heathenism were met, not by martyrdom, but by counter blows. The militant methods of the Teutonic knights were enlisted to complete the Christianisation of Eastern Germany, Poland, and the rest. For the Church of the West had allowed itself to become a political and military force, to the great degradation of the spiritual forces, such as missionary incentive.

Anskar in Germany and Otho in Pomerania recall the old ways.

Happily, however, already the pendulum had begun to swing back to a more Christian position. With the rise of the Friars a new era begins. Then once again weakness is glorified as against force, poverty as against wealth, and personal devotion as against temporal efficiency. In the transition, missionary motive as a spiritual impulse emerges again, though in a different form from what had been; and the later mediæval missions link on to the modern missions that followed

Revival of the missionary impulse under the Friars.

them, rather than to these that preceded them.

St Francis. It caused some astonishment when St Francis broached this question with his amazing clear-sighted simplicity—"What is the good of trying to conquer the Soldan? Why not convert him instead?" Men stared as he went and tried, and they shook their heads, as if he were wrong, when he came back having failed. But all the same he was right. He had recalled the Church to its missionary task, as a spiritual and not a military effort; and a new era was begun.

THREE
SPECIAL
POINTS.

i. Monasticism.

In trying to interpret this very sketchy survey of early mediæval missions, three special points must be noted. First, the enormous power of monasticism in inspiring, disciplining and making effective, missionary motive and enterprise. Without it the conquest of Europe could never have taken place as it did. It strengthened the individual in his missionary vocation and enthusiasm by joining him with others in a spiritual family; it taught him to endure, and to love self-control and self-sacrifice, before it sent him out to a task which would strain those qualities to breaking point; and it provided a continuity of spirit and method,

which would have been otherwise unobtainable. Conversely monasticism flourished on its missionary activity. When it settled down to less heroic tasks, it lost caste and flavour; until the Franciscan movement restored again the old connexion and the old heroism in a new form.

Secondly, it is desirable to take stock, so far as may be, of women's work in mediæval missions. It was mainly in Northern Europe and under Teutonic influence that such a thing was possible; and even there, in any lasting form, only under the shelter of the convent. But the annals of France, England and Germany testify to the great share taken by the women saints in the Christianisation of the country. A Christian princess may take her religion with her to the court of a heathen consort; and many a time in such a way an entrance has been effected. But a transitory advantage of this sort always needed to be followed up by feminine influence systematised and permanent: and in those days it was only the nunnery that made this possible. The inspiration drawn from St Hilda seems to have been little, if at all, less compelling than that which emanated from St Aidan. Was not Wilfrid himself, one of the most original and indefatigable

ii. Women's work.

of missionaries, the product alike of Lindisfarne and Whitby? If this was the effect upon the men, what must it have been upon the women, trained in these Christian strongholds, and upon the homes of the people, and upon the coming generations?

iii. Dogmatic theology.

Thirdly, we cannot fail to see in the strong dogmatic character of the mediæval theology an essential concomitant of the motive power that won so large a field. The Church had its profound thinkers then as much as ever—men who hesitated to dogmatise, and who kept the weak brother in the faith by wideness of thought, by patience with human limitations, and by a boundless charity. But these as a rule were not the missionaries to the heathen. There were also, then as ever, the vague believers who mistook themselves for the tolerant and largeminded souls already mentioned: these were ineffective at home as well as abroad. But the great evangelist was a man strong in conviction, clear in holding what he had to teach, and passionate in disseminating it: fundamentally in union with Christ, loyally the envoy of His Church, and a faithful dispenser of His Word and Sacraments.

The form which such doctrinal enthusiasm took varied necessarily with varying cir-

cumstances. The way of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, with the Slavs was very different from that of Pope Nicholas of Rome : just as of old the way of Aidan or even of Theodore had been very different from that of Augustine. In general also the doctrinal enthusiasm of the missionary suffered, as must always be the case, from the limitations of the age. If he outraged the heathen's religious sentiments, and treated all their cherished beliefs and worship as merely so much devilry, later generations need not condemn the missionary because they do not entirely follow his method. They may well feel constrained to view the times of men's ignorance with more discrimination. What, however, they must do is to recognise his positive spirit and to reproduce it continually themselves in as enlightened a form as may be.

Motives are greater than methods : yet the best of motive powers are reduced to inefficiency by a lack of the appropriate attachments. It is the living truth and saving grace of Jesus Christ which bring redemption ; and it is unfaithfulness to truth and neglect of grace which bring disaster. There were plenty of disastrous failures in the missionary work of the Mediæval Church,

and though the record of them is small, the warning of them is significant.

REFLEXIONS.

The twofold motive—
attraction
and impul-
sion—still
unchanged.

The bearing of this retrospect upon modern missionary motive is so obvious that only a very few words of moralising are needed. Still men, and women too, are being attracted from without and impelled from within towards the great task. It is the love of Christ that constrains in either case, whether by its interior witness in the awakened missionary's own spiritual consciousness, or by its appeal through His little ones.

The motive
of pity for
doomed souls
seen now in
a different
form.

The motive that derives its force from pity for souls doomed to lasting damnation because of their heathenism, is not operative now with as great a power as once it had. The modern Church has a larger view, than had the Mediæval Church, both of the power and the will of God to save. But, on the other hand, the contrast between the present misery of heathenism and the present joy of the believer stands out greater than ever. The scandals of nominal Christianity at home, no doubt, tend to dull men's perception of that contrast. But this fact in itself only

The desire to
serve where
Christianity
is not
nominal.

enhances another form of missionary motive—the craving to serve where Christianity is not nominal, where the camps are clearly distinct, and where every new convert is clearly seen

to pass from darkness to light and from the dominion of Satan to that of God. Such a motive was strong in the old days of the decadent Empire, and it may well be no less strong in the sons and daughters of Europe or America to-day.

The claim of the kingdom is also still a potent motive. The modern Christian conscience takes no account of frontiers: all the kingdoms of the world now lie open to its ken; already it sees them all as potentially become the kingdom of God and Christ; and in proportion as that vision is clear, it must strive to make them so actually. This divine imperialism is a more telling motive to-day than ever it has been in bygone ages.

The claim of the kingdom clearer than ever.

Also that lesser human imperialism which belongs to the several Christian empires, and especially to Britain and Germany, has its place and power. Before all things the Empire, lying snug within its frontiers, must be wholly won. But even from this point of view, the outlook cannot be thus restricted. Now, as of old, the clustering peoples beyond the frontier put up an insistent claim: and it is not a large imperialism, but a petty parochialism, that makes much of political boundaries.

Human imperialism.

The inner
call.

Further, the inner call is as imperative as ever, where it is not stifled by convention, or family, or personal meanness of soul. *Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel* is still the haunting formula which drives men and women into a glorious exile for Christ. And still, some at least would say, monasticism has its indispensable part to play before Asia can be conquered as Europe was. Societies and committees, even the best, and co-operating with the best of personal sacrifice, cannot sufficiently discipline the enthusiasm, nor put a sharp enough edge on to the spiritual sword, nor provide a strong enough corporate life for the worker, nor a sufficient continuity and permanence for the work.

Sacrifice for
Christ.

The whole
armoury of
God.

Moreover zeal, evangelistic, disciplined and personal, needs as much as ever to take into this Holy War the whole armoury of God. As of old, methods and systems are being tried; the quality and quantity of the belief and practice of every missionary organisation is being tested severely. Precedent seems to suggest, and present-day experience seems to confirm the suggestion, that some will fail for one cause or another. Some will be too rigid, some too nebulous—in creed, it may be, or discipline or policy; and they will go the way of the unfruitful missions of earlier

days. India and China, wielding with inherited skill such weapons as pantheism, and crouching behind a shield of baffling negation, will probably play havoc with a good deal of the Christian front before they finally succumb. So we still do well to look to our doctrinal and administrative equipment as well as to our motives.

But, be that as it may, as we analyse the multiplicity of the missionary motive in past days, or trace its bearing on the present, the multiplicity melts ultimately into one intensely simple thing—the personal self-oblation that is expressed in the surrender of the servant, who says, “Here am I, send me,” and the reply of the Master, who says, “Go.”

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND REFERENCE.

GENERAL—

History of Christian Missions in the Middle Ages.
(Published in 1863.) G. F. Maclear. Macmillan.
10s. 6d.

Missions. Mrs Creighton. (Home University Library.)
1s. Chapter I.

SPECIAL—

History of the English Nation. Bede Everyman. 1s.
Life of Columba. Adamnan English Translation.
Clarendon Press. 9s. 6d. Also a cheap edition,
1s. 6d.

110 **The Missionary Motive**

Life of St Patrick. J. B. Bury. Macmillan. 12s.

Boniface. Bishop Browne. S.P.C.K. 6s.

Life of St Francis, etc. Everyman. 1s.

St Hilary of Poitiers and St Martin of Tours. J. G. Cazenove. S.P.C.K. 2s.

Ireland's Hope. S.C.M. 2s. Pp. 181-210 dealing with Early Irish Missions.

CHAPTER V

BY MISS A. H. SMALL

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

I. THE CONDITIONS AT THE HOME BASE.

The Counter-Reformation.

Church loyalty as a missionary motive.

Missions were conducted by the monastic orders.

The Society of Jesus. Loyola.

II. FIVE NOTABLE MISSIONARIES.

St Francis Xavier, in India, Japan and China.

Father Robert de' Nobili, in India.

Father Matteo Ricci, in China.

Father Alphonsus Navarette, in Japan.

Father Simon Le Moyne, in North America.

III. THE SPIRITUAL FORCES IN THE REGION OF MOTIVE WHICH WORKED IN THESE MEN.

1. The missionary motive at the Home Base.

Church loyalty.

The community bond.

Characteristics of the monastic system :—

(a) The life of discipline and obedience.

(b) The simplification of the life of the individual.

(c) The strength afforded by the society to the weaker members.

Defects of the system in the Protestant view.

2. The missionary motive in the personal life of the missionaries.
 - (a) The Wander-Spirit.
 - (b) A passionate devotion to our Lord.
 - (c) An ardent desire for martyrdom.
 - (d) A desire to follow our Lord even to the Cross.
 - (e) A delight in hard service.

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE AND THE MISSIONARY MESSAGE.

THE period with which we are now concerned lies within the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; that is, between the Reformation and the belated missionary awakening of the Reformed Churches which led to the foundation of the great modern missionary societies. It was a period of brilliant effort and achievement within the Church of Rome.

To deal at all adequately in limited space with this page of missionary history and with the lessons of it, even from the point of view of the specific purpose of this book, is impossible ; we must be satisfied with a very elementary and cursory glance at (I) the two main conditions at the Home Base under which missionary work was carried forward—the “ Counter-Reformation ” in the Church, and the aggressive zeal of the Religious Orders ; and (II) the lives of several typical missionaries ; in order to (III) a

more careful examination of some of the forces which, working together, formed the motive power behind the activities and forth-goings of the period.

The "Great Schism" had left the mother Church maimed indeed and sorely broken in spirit, but neither dead nor dying. After a hardly perceptible pause she gathered her forces and addressed herself to the task of adequately meeting the new situation. The Conferences held at intervals between 1545 and 1563 known as the Council of Trent, reactionary as their result undoubtedly was, were the expression of a tacitly acknowledged need for reform, and centralised the movement now known as the Counter-Reformation.¹ Various other attempts, formal and informal, were made to bring the "rebels" back to their allegiance. But far more significant of the still abounding life of the old Church was the chivalrous response to her need which was given from every Catholic land. It was as if her remaining members arose instinctively and almost simultaneously to assure her of their passionate devotion and determination to make good the appalling loss which she had sustained.

I.—THE MAIN CONDITIONS AT THE HOME BASE UNDER WHICH MISSIONARY WORK WAS CARRIED FORWARD. The Counter Reformation.

¹ "Catholic Reform centres in the Council of Trent." *Jesuit Education* (Schwickerath).

Church
loyalty as a
missionary
motive.

This rallying of positive aggressive power revealed itself in various ways, by far the most important of which was the magnificent missionary forthgoing of the following centuries. Out of a poignant Church situation Church loyalty arose as a vehement missionary motive and, whether consciously or unconsciously, served a great purpose both in the reviving of the flagging zeal of the older missionary Orders, and in the inauguration of a new Order of high efficiency as well as of unbounded enthusiasm and courage. For practically a century before the Reformation missionary effort had been at a standstill; within a century of the Reformation thousands of missionaries had gone forth to the ends of the earth to work, to suffer, and to die for Christ and for the Church. And the Church herself fully acquiesced. When it might have been supposed that she had need of her strongest sons at home, these were they who were in her name setting up her standard, claiming her universal supremacy, and dying joyously for her sake, far east in the old world, and far west in the new.

Missions
were con-
ducted by the
monastic
orders.

The missions of the Roman Catholic Church have been inaugurated and conducted almost exclusively by the monastic orders, and both the missionary policy and the missionary

motive in their working are fundamentally conditioned by the community ideal. Details of living and service accorded with the rule of each several Order, the Franciscan continued as a missionary to be the simple brother of the poor, the Dominican was the preaching missionary of the "Order of Truth," both retained largely their mediæval character; while the Jesuit, follower of a master who "transmitted to his disciples that knowledge of mankind which cannot be learned in cloisters," went to his life-work an able, disciplined man of the world. But always and everywhere the student of missions is compelled to take account of the ordered Community acting through the individual or the group. Before, therefore, we study the missions and the men, we must know something of the system, and it is to St Ignatius and his Order, belonging as they do to the period we now have in review, that we naturally turn for guidance.

Ignatius Loyola "the untaught soldier who became one of the first amongst the great masters of spiritual knowledge," is a well-known historic figure, and we need not linger over the details of his personal life. We know how, when lying in hospital, he read the lives of the heroes of the faith and arose to follow in their footsteps; how he went on

The Society
of Jesus.
Loyola.

his tentative mission to Jerusalem, failed to gain admission to the Holy Sepulchre, and concluded that, not in Crusades to the Holy Land but in a reformed church at home and in a strong appeal to the world abroad, lay the true conquest of Christ; how, therefore, he returned to prepare himself for the fulfilling of his call by patient labour in school and in college until, at the age of thirty-seven, he received his Arts degree from the University of Paris. We have followed the group of seven who on the 15th of August, 1534, climbed the Montmartre Hill to the little chapel where, when the one priest among them had said Mass and all had received communion, all took vows of poverty and chastity and of labour for the souls of men, wheresoever the "Holy Father" should ordain.

OMNIA AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM

The Society of Jesus was formally sanctioned in 1540.

The constitution of the Jesuit Order bears upon it the indelible marks of its founder. The rule is that of the army. Its governing body—the Father-General with his international Council, and the General Congregation with its Assistants and Provincials—provides a world-embracing strategic centre,

for the Society is nothing if not imperial. Its colleges and schools are places of patient, sustained, military discipline and preparation, which produce men in whom, on the one hand, obedience to their superiors and devotion to their Order have become the habit of life; and on the other hand, whose powers and gifts have been brought to the highest possible efficiency, and who know that ample opportunity will be given for their use. The one demand made of the member of the Society is that he shall be competent, not as an obedient soldier, but as an able officer, is competent. "The generous knight who has renounced all worldly ambition, is resolved to become a soldier of Christ. In Him he sees his King and General, and in order to defend and propagate Christianity—the kingdom of Christ—he plans a spiritual crusade. Those who wish to become his companions in the noble enterprise must be determined to distinguish themselves in the service of their heavenly king. They are not to be satisfied with being ordinary soldiers in the army, but they are to constitute as it were Christ's bodyguard, hence the name of the Society: "La Compañia de Jesus, The Company of Jesus." ¹

¹ *Jesuit Education.* Schwickerath.

II.—FIVE
NOTABLE
MISSION-
ARIES.

It is not easy to distinguish, as greater or less great, among the heroic men who gave themselves to the task of making good the claim of Christ and the Church to the allegiance of the world ; but the following five names, representing five fields, may also be said to represent five types of missionary method and service :

St Francis Xavier, pioneer missionary, with the world as his field.

Father Robert de' Nobili, the " Brahman " Missionary of India, who carried to its uttermost the principle of adaptation.

Father Matteo Ricci, heir of St Francis' passion for China, statesman and organiser, whom sheer force of determined will carried to the very palace of the Emperor.

Father Alphonsus Navarette, one of the army of martyred missionaries of Japan.

Father Simon le Moyne, a pioneer missionary of French Canada, whose wisdom did much to subdue the savage Hurons and Iroquois.

St Francis
Xavier.

" *Go and set the world on fire* " was Loyola's parting charge to his missionaries, and it almost seemed as if his first missionary, " his most glorious and gifted child," would himself have fulfilled it. Into a missionary career of ten years Xavier crowded travels, labours, experiences, marvellous far beyond

his "miracles"; India, Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, Japan, India again, and the gate of China, he and his bell knew them all, and still he dreamt as his life burnt itself out in Sanciam, of preaching Christ through the Empire, and of evangelising Europe *via* Siberia.

He was the child of a noble house of Navarre; and a graduate of the University of Paris. There Loyola met him and coveted the ambitious, chivalrous, brilliant man for a companion; with some difficulty he won him, won him absolutely. Xavier was one of the Montmartre seven. He followed his master to Venice and to Rome; and when the Portuguese ambassador proposed that he should go to India, the proposal was accepted. The fire of missionary zeal burned fiercely within him now. "It is not a single province of Palestine which we were seeking that God has given you," wrote St Ignatius, "but the Indies, a whole world of people and nations. . . . Kindle those unknown nations with the flame that burns within you."

Xavier sailed for Goa on his thirty-seventh At Goa. birthday, April 7th, 1541, and arrived in May of the following year. He found his first task in the Christian Colony, where

sin seemed blacker than all the blackness of heathenism. Up and down the streets, ringing his bell, he summoned parents to send their children for instruction. Children came, he first charmed and then taught them; parents were reached with the call to penitence and a new life; in a few months the missionary was able to turn to the heathen.

His methods. His manner of work was very simple. “My practice is to make them repeat the creed oftener than the other prayers; and I declare to them at the same time that they who believe the contents of it are true Christians. Then I pass to the ten commandments and give them to understand that the Christian law is comprised in those ten precepts and that whosoever violates one of them is a bad man, and will be lost unless he repent him of his sin. With all this we intermingle some short prayers. In conclusion I frequently make an exhortation which I have composed in their own language, being an epitome of the Christian Faith, and of the necessary duties incumbent on it.” All was done through an interpreter, for Francis did not learn even so much of any Indian language as he did later of Japanese; but “his burning love of God, his intense zeal for souls, his sweetness, tenderness, and charity, his winning

ways, and extraordinary influence over the souls of men " these were his sermon, and he preached it day and night unweariedly. Whether he was setting up little street altars around which children might sing hymns instead of heathen songs, or training a little band of leaders who should care for a village congregation in his absence, or coming off rather badly in argument with Brahman priests, Francis was always a gracious Christian man. Converts he "made" by thousands, whom he passionately loved; "often," he wrote to Loyola, "have I heard a person labouring amongst these Christians falteringly exclaim, 'O Lord, give me not such great comfort in this life; or if in the excess of Thine infinite goodness Thou wilt thus favour me, call me to Thy heavenly glory.'"

When there were many thousand Christians, and work became too great, Francis wrote his historic letter to the doctors of the Sorbonne offering them missionary service. "Say from the bottom of your hearts, 'Behold me in readiness, O God; send me even to the Indies if Thou commandest me.'"

The letter was read with amused interest, and preserved in the archives of the Sorbonne, but no one offered to go to the Indies!

In talk with a young Japanese penitent at In Japan.

Goa, Francis found that his mind and heart turned Japan-wards; and he landed upon the island on the loved Montmartre date, August 15th, 1549. Forthwith began his brilliant mission of little over two years. In India he reached the lower castes; in Japan his work lay amongst great ladies, nobles, even princes of the blood royal. His dignified and gracious bearing appealed to the Japanese, and their character appealed to him. "Though my hair begins already to be hoary, I am more vigorous and robust than ever I was; for the pains which are taken to cultivate a reasonable nation which loves truth and which covets to be saved, are health to the soul and to the frame."

Refused
admission
to China.

Death.

But now his dreams were of China, and after a brief visit to Goa, he sailed again for the Farther East, and landed at Sanciam, over against Canton. Here he received his one great check: he was denied permission to go farther. While waiting, he was seized with fever, and died reciting the Psalm—"In Te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in æternum." "Eternity only, Francis," wrote his master and friend, "is sufficient for such a heart as yours; the kingdom of glory alone is worthy of it." His body was buried with great ceremony at Goa, and his grave is still the

end of many a pilgrimage. St Francis Xavier will never be forgotten. The old stone, from which he preached in Japan, treasured there ; the temple built in his memory near Comorin ; the banyan tree which he planted on Ramissuram, where Christians still gather to make their Communion, “ mingling his name with their prayers ”—these are only symbols of the place which the first Jesuit missionary must have in the heart of every lover of missions. “ He bequeathed rather the inspiration of his work than the work itself to others—the execution, as it were, of his last will ” ; but it is an inspiration which will never fail.

St Francis Xavier represents the pioneer missionary, the missionary of the bell-call and the simple message, and the appeal of a pure love and a fervent spirit. The common people of India heard him gladly. But it was evident that if India were to be won, the caste as well as the non-caste peoples must be met. The obvious method of education was early inaugurated, and Jesuit schools and colleges led the way in this direction ; but other experiments were made, the most interesting of these being that of Father Robert de' Nobili of Madura, who arrived in India in 1605.

Father
Robert de'
Nobili.

A missionary
to the caste-
people of
India.

“All things
to all men.”

The caste system immediately impressed him as the true obstacle between the missionary and the people. How then attack it? The Eternal Word became Man that He might save man; St Paul became all things to all men, if he might only save some; might not Robert de' Nobili become an Indian, a Brahman, to the same end? The cost must be great, he must isolate himself from his brethren, and live as a religious Brahman should, accepting the Brahmanical life with its austerities, limitations, even its evils. He did it all. Alone in a hut apart, he lived the life devoted meanwhile to study, contemplation, and prayer. The surrounding Brahmans watched curiously for a time, then approached to ask the meaning of the strange man's presence. They were received with such reserve as themselves would have shown. The reserve intensified the interest. They prayed to be received in audience, and when admitted found that his austerities were greater than theirs, his knowledge of their own religion and literature wider, and—the impressive discovery—where they speculated regarding the mystery of the Unseen, he knew, and joyed in his knowledge. Discussions were held for many hours daily, and conversions were many. “Every day,” De' Nobili

wrote, "our progress becomes more visible, and the conversion of the Gentiles less difficult." "Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ," became the common salutation of the streets.

As was inevitable, the experiment aroused antagonism. Brahmans saw clearly that this was not Brahmanism. Missionaries of the more conservative Orders were scandalised. The Jesuit authorities at Goa were not easily satisfied when De' Nobili appeared before them clothed, not as a Christian priest but as a Brahman penitent. He was indeed permitted to continue a life which seemed to himself worth its cost in loneliness, toil, and controversy; but his method was not long maintained after his death, and, as was to be expected, his church collapsed.

Difficulties of his method.

The Empire of China was far more difficult of access than India. The opposition of Portugal from without, jealous of possible interference with her manner of trading, and of China herself from within, deeply suspicious of any influence brought to bear upon her by the Western barbarian—these promised small opportunity for men upon whom the mantle of St Francis' passion might fall.

Father Matteo Ricci.

China.

The mantle had fallen upon his Order, and Father Valignani, the missionary statesman,

looked around for men who should be fit to cope with the problem of the doubly closed door. His choice fell upon a group, leader of whom was Father Matteo Ricci, who had been born "almost at the very hour of Xavier's death," had been trained under Valignani's own care, was an accomplished scholar, and had already devoted his learning and his gifts to the missionary calling. While he waited opportunity to enter China, he worked zealously at the language and the literature; so that when at length he and his colleagues were permitted to creep inland so far as the city of Tchau-King in the Canton Province, he was prepared, clad in the robes of a mandarin, to meet the literati not only with the wonders of Western science, but with competent knowledge on their own level. The Ten Commandments in their simplicity were compared with the moral teaching of the Classics; the story of Jesus Christ was told, and very soon there were many converts.

Ricci was a man of determination, and Tchau-King was not his end. He intended to reach the capital and the Emperor, should years be spent in the attempt. He set out. When denied admission to one city he passed on to another. As unpaid tutor to the son of a wealthy mandarin, he travelled for a

time in his train. Again and again he was detained, in which case he settled down to teach and dispute and gather a group of converts around him. The journey occupied years, but he gained his end; he entered **At Peking.** Peking and the Palace on the 20th of January 1601. Here Ricci speedily made a place for himself. He had the ear of the Emperor; he lived within the walls of the Palace. He gave freely of his scientific knowledge, and meantime studied still further the science of adaptation. He claimed that at the heart of it the religion of China was true; that the God of China was his, and that the ethics of Confucius were largely those of Christ. He yielded to the customs and ceremonies of Chinese life in all matters in his estimation non-essential. Churches were built; converts from every class flocked to them for instruction: before the death of Ricci (1610) there was a large Christian community, scattered over many cities. The missionary had justified apparently his belief that influence should begin in high quarters. But here again seeds of mistrust and of (in the end) disaster had been sown. Missionaries of the older Orders hated the concessions made to heathen belief and practice; the Chinese themselves had **Persecution** periodic attacks of jealousy because of the

influence of Jesuits in high places ; the Jesuits themselves, reckoning upon their authority, made tactical blunders which eventually banished them ; their churches were desecrated or destroyed ; and the Church underwent blasting persecution.

Lessons from
the lives of
De' Nobili
and Ricci.

De' Nobili and Ricci were men of very different calibre, who worked in very different fields and circumstances ; but in both the same hope prevailed that, by the method of adaptation to the uttermost, they would win their people to the Christian faith. Their failure is one great lesson of their lives ; but perhaps a greater lesson still is that the missionary motive worked in both to a high and enduring purpose. They lived and died for it.

Father
Alphonsus
Navarette.

Japan.

“ Christianity was once preached here, it gained numerous followers, and became a factor that had to be taken into account by a despotic, feudal government which was hardly able to bear the searchlight of even mediæval Catholic Christianity. The Christians were suspected of political designs, and they became unavoidably mixed up with political movements ; persecution and a war of extermination were resorted to, and supposed to have been entirely successful.”¹

¹ From an address on *The Present Religious Spirit and Problems*, delivered at Tokyo by Rev. J. M. T. Winthner, Japan.

These sentences sum the history of missions in Japan during our period, and sufficiently explain their tragic end—which was not the end—of one of the most promising of the missionary adventures of the Church of Christ. The missionary motive worked gloriously. Space fails to tell of Father Torres (1550), “nursing father of the young Church”; of Father Valignani (1580), whom Catholic kings revered, and Japanese as well as Chinese rulers trusted, and who died meekly asking forgiveness for his “immense sins and negligences”; of Charles Spinola, who led forth to the Martyrs’ Mount the procession of fifty-two missionaries and Japanese Christians who, on the 9th of September, laid down their lives for their faith. “I know not to what I can attribute my happy lot,” he wrote, “except to the immense goodness of my Saviour, Who wishes to manifest the riches of His mercy upon His unworthy servant.” The young Church, like the early Church, was filled with zeal. There was, indeed, a “Confraternity of Martyrs,” “pledged to suffer whatever should come, faithfully and joyfully, for the Name of Jesus.”

For many years Jesuit missions only were permitted in Japan, but the ban laid upon the other Orders was removed in 1599, and

other missionaries hastened to avail themselves of the liberty. Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, all were soon at work. Of these devoted men Father Alphonsus Navarette may be chosen as representative. He arrived in Japan in 1611.

This was a man of frail body but of indomitable spirit. He gave himself to the lepers, the sick—he founded a confraternity for the sick poor—and especially the foundling children. “Do not forget your alms for the little foundlings,” he wrote, “for thus you do God a great service. I write this on a desert island where I await my death.”

But even greater than his sympathy for suffering was his sympathy for penitents, whom he patiently strove to bring home to God. Day and night he was ready to hear confessions, especially those of the poor. To strengthen in the bonds of love and faith his little groups of Christians, he formed amongst them a “Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus.” Brotherliness was indeed his missionary characteristic.

News reached him of the martyrdom of two missionaries at Omura; his heart bled for the young churches; and notwithstanding that the Governor of Omura had forbidden the presence of missionaries, Navarette

determined to visit the bereaved district. He had as companion Father Ferdinand, an Augustinian missionary of great holiness of life. It was a rash mission in the opinion of many, and attempts were made to dissuade them. "We are ready," they replied, "to suffer for Christ and to endure a long martyrdom for His sake." In this spirit they set out, travelling as secretly as possible, meeting the Christians, hearing confessions, baptising catechumens, day and night. The fearful renewed their courage, apostates returned to the faith; those who were hungering for spiritual food crowded to receive it. Great open-air services were held, and secrecy became impossible. It was not surprising that they were met one morning by a band of soldiers who seized and bound them.

The journey
that led to
his martyr-
dom.

The journey which now led to martyrdom was a long, triumphal progress. The people clung to their friends and would not be shaken off. From one lonely spot to another they were carried in search of a secret place of execution. At Amegora, an island which seemed secure, Father Alphonsus begged permission to climb a hill near the sea. Standing on its brow, he lifted his cross high over his head and sang aloud. From a cave below came the response, and the missionary went

down to the little company of refugees, comforted and blessed them, and returned to his executioners. On the islet of Coguchi, where lay already the bodies of two martyrs, these also yielded their lives. The bodies were carried far out to sea, that no grave should become a shrine for the encouragement of Christianity; but the death of Father Navarette "seemed to pour an invigorating spirit of life into the whole Church of Japan. Fervour was everywhere renewed. The faint-hearted grew courageous, and the spirit of Christian heroism inspired the faithful with a desire to show that they also could suffer and die for their Lord."¹

South
America.

To write of the missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to omit reference to the social experiment of the Reductions for the Indians in South America is only excusable on the ground that each illustration must bear upon personal life and motive; the Reductions were the work of the community rather than of the individual.

French
Canada.

Great names are associated with the missions of French Canada: Father Isaac Jogues, traveller and martyr; Father Claude d'Ablon, "whose music did wonders with the wild

¹ *Dominican Missionaries and Martyrs in Japan.* F. Wilberforce.

natives," and who wrote amid labours and sufferings manifold, "In weariness God is strong, and in bitterness we find Him indeed sweet"; Father René Ménard, called Pater Frugifer, "the father who made each moment bear fruit," he who wandered into the depth of the forest and never returned; and the five missionaries who wrote to their friends on the eve of their martyrdom (28th October, 1637), "We are perhaps on the eve of shedding our blood and offering the sacrifice of our lives for our good Master Jesus Christ. It is a singular favour which His goodness confers upon us, to make us endure something for His love. May He be blessed for evermore for having chosen us among so many thousands to come to this country to help Him to carry His Cross.

A letter on
the eve of
martyrdom.

JEAN DE BRÉBEUF.

FRANÇOIS LE MERCIER.

PIERRE CHASTELAIN.

CHARLES GARNIER.

PAUL RAGUENEAU.

"I do not know whether it is my sins that close to me the gate of the country I have so earnestly desired, but at all events here I am, stripped and forsaken, on a point of sand . . . with no other house than the great

Some of the
words of
Simon Le
Moyne.

world." . . . "He who has God with him rests calmly everywhere."

These words were written by Simon Le Moyne, a man whose gifts were chiefly employed in bringing about peaceful relations between the colonists and the Indians, and who by his wise and gracious mediation did much to settle difficulties. But he was before all things a missionary, and although we cannot tell his story, let a few of his words tell his motive.

At his little station : "What a consolation it is to a sympathetic heart to see here every day in our cabins how our good Jesus is adored by a people to whom He is as yet only partially known. . . . God from the beginning must indeed have made good their defects of understanding."

On one of his peace-making expeditions : "The chiefs assembled, and I opened the proceedings with a public prayer which I offered on my knees and in a loud voice, using the Huron tongue throughout. I appealed to the great Master of heaven and earth that He might inspire us to act for His glory and our own good. I cursed all the demons of hell since they are spirits of discord, and I prayed the guardian angels of the entire country to speak to the hearts of my

hearers when my words should strike their ears."

On another occasion: "Concluded treaty of peace. Preached, chief's hut used as chapel. It was rude indeed, but our Lord, who deigns to veil Himself under the forms of bread and wine, will not disdain to dwell beneath a roof of bark, and the woods of our forest are not less precious in His eyes than the cedars of Lebanon, since where He is, there is Paradise." On this occasion Father Le Moyne endured terrible torture, being so burned that the wounds were still unhealed many months later.

But when he died (1662) the chief of this tribe sang a lovely memorial song which told how—

"Thou didst bear peace and tranquillity wherever
thou didst dwell; A memorial
song.

We have seen thee . . . decide peace and war.
Our cabins became too small when thou didst enter;
Our villages were too contracted when thou wast there;
So great was the crowd drawn by thy words.
Thou hast so often taught us that the life of misery
is followed by one of eternal bliss;
Now that thou enjoyest it, what reason have we for
grief?"

We are now in a measure prepared to consider some of the forces which, working

III.—THE
SPIRITUAL
FORCES
WHICH
WROUGHT
IN THESE
MEN.

together in the hidden region of motive, sent forth so many men of the first order to a lifelong exile, to labour joyfully in loneliness and hardship and apparent failure, or to suffer slow torture or cruel martyrdom, the details of which we of a softer age cannot venture to contemplate.

I. The
Missionary
Motive at
the Home
Base.

Church
loyalty.

We have already noted as a fact, that a new missionary fervour made itself felt throughout the Roman Church at the very moment of her humiliation, and that we are justified in reckoning Church loyalty to be one of the ruling missionary motives of these centuries; and that further, as the Church felt herself driven by the rival claims of the protesting Churches to iterate and reiterate her claim to be the one only Catholic and Universal Church of Christ, so her sons went forth to make proof of this claim by planting her standard in every land even to the farthest ends of the earth.¹

The
Community
bond.

Not less forceful, and much more frequently expressed by missionaries, is the motive of loyalty to their Order within the Church. "If I forget thee, O Society of Jesus," said

¹ It is, however, an important fact that this motive is rarely if ever expressed in the literature of the time; it appears at a later period, when the missions of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches came into conflict.

Xavier, "let my right hand become unprofitable unto me, may I forget even the use of it." This is the universal attitude. Therefore, although reference has already been made in another connection to the influence of the monastic system upon missionary effort and missionary method, it is necessary here also to emphasise it. What were the main elements which gave to it its power?

The life of the missionary is ordered, disciplined, obedient. "I will and I won't don't live here," said St Ignatius to a young novice with a will of his own. "If I had a Superior here," said an Augustinian missionary to a Dominican brother, "I should throw myself blindly at his feet and obey; not having one here, I promise the like submission to your command"; and it is told of Father Isaac Jogues of the mission to the Iroquois, that when "Go" had been said even by himself, "neither devil nor man would keep him."

(a) A life of discipline and obedience.

The individual life is simplified. For the missionary of a Catholic community there are no distracting cares, family or other, no grave personal decisions, no complex problems such as frequently burden the life of any Protestant missionary. "Every community," writes Prof. Harnack, "stands in need of

(b) The life of the individual simplified.

personalities living *exclusively* for its ends. The Church, for instance, needs volunteers who will abandon every other pursuit, renounce the 'world,' and devote themselves entirely to the service of their neighbour, not because such a vocation is a 'higher one,' but because it is a necessary one, and because no Church can live without giving rise to such a desire." The Church of Rome has always seen this need and desire, and has met it through her religious communities.

(c) The
Society a
strength to
the weaker
members.

"Solidarity is a true law of God." There is strength and effectiveness even for the weaker brother in the very idea of possession in a compact, ordered, organised society to which he owes his best service. There are Christian practices which the individual missionary may, under the stress of circumstances, let slip, which the member of a community dare not omit. There are Christian graces too little sought after which will at the least be sharply brought to mind where the life is ordered by a mutually accepted rule, and the individual will is subordinated to the will of the Community, the graces, for example, of humility and meekness. Obviously the Community life does not ensure these good things, we know that it very frequently failed to do so; but the

history of Catholic missions cannot be read without the conviction that here lay elements of power which may be missed through the comparative liberty and individualism which mark Protestant missionary organisation.

Thus there was in Catholic missions a double uniting force at the Home Base, which, according to Catholic students of Missions, has worked magnificently.

Mr Wilfred Ward writes of this "very prominent and distinctive ideal of the monastic life," that, "if we take it in its fullest expression as including the active as well as the contemplative Orders, we have in this ideal the inspiring force of more than half the greatest achievements in the Catholic Church in the past. From the Benedictines in the fifth century to the Jesuits in the sixteenth you have in the history of Religious Orders the story of the greatest successes of the Catholic religion."

(There is an obvious criticism of the Community system which strikes every Protestant student of Catholic missions : it is the underlying ideal of the celibacy of the whole missionary body. The Protestant values deeply the ideal of a Christian missionary home, and especially of Christian wifehood and motherhood, in the midst of the people. But our

A double uniting force.

Defects of the system in the Protestant view.

period does not lend itself to the discussion of this point. The fields were all difficult, the work was largely pioneer work, and although not entirely absent, woman missionaries must necessarily have been few.)

II.—THE
MISSIONARY
MOTIVE IN
THE PER-
SONAL LIFE
OF THE
MISSIONARY.

(a) The
Wander-
Spirit.

(a) When we turn to the forces which worked so mightily in the lives of individual missionaries we must reckon with the times which made them the men they were. The new world had only recently come into existence, and the colonizing and trading spirit was at its height. Portugal was jealously watching India, China and Japan; Spain was busy in South America, France in Canada, England also in her American Colonies. The lust for wandering was upon the young men, upon religious young men it fell as a passionate missionary desire. Every trading or colonizing vessel carried its priests, who were too often the only "saving salt" in a very corrupt company.

(b) A pas-
sionate de-
votion to our
Lord.

(b) A passionate personal devotion to our Lord is constantly expressing itself. Here are the words of one and another:

"I hear the voice of my Conductor; east and west, north and south are all indifferent to me so that I may but advance the glory of our Lord" (St Francis Xavier).

I die "full of security and joy, trusting

to the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, Who died for me and for Whose presence I yearn with all my soul—Father Paul Navarro, who in a few hours will be burnt for Jesus Christ ” (Japan).

“ Whatever may be the tribulations which surround us, I ardently wish to remain on this ungrateful soil, in order to suffer, and perhaps to die, for Jesus Christ ” (Father Ovieda, missionary in Ethiopia, in reply to the Pope’s suggestion that he should return, on account of the frightful hardships of his life, 1559).

(c) This devotion became in the case of many, as in the early church, an ardent desire to win the martyrs’ crown. Martyred missionaries are in every field: Japan, China, India, Asia Minor, Armenia, Ethiopia, North and South America. In Japan alone over a thousand missionaries belonging to the Jesuit, Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian Orders, and over two hundred thousand converts, died for their faith. An association known as the “ Confraternity of Martyrs,” was founded “ to strengthen those who were hourly exposed to a cruel death, by teaching them to consider martyrdom as the highest earthly joy.”¹ This form of devotion is

(c) An ardent desire for martyrdom.

¹ *The Jesuits: Their Foundation and History* (Burns and Oates).

extraordinarily difficult to analyse. For example, there seems to have been no compunction regarding the apparent waste of human life. Father John Baptist Sidotti, (1709), the last of the missionary martyrs of Japan, is a case in point. The Church had been apparently destroyed, the edict forbidding missionary work had been issued, the ports were rigorously closed; but this devoted man, having received permission from the Pope, insisted upon being taken across from Manilla and landed. The ship's boat left him at midnight in an obscure harbour, where, however, he was immediately seized, crucifix in hand, taken to Jeddo, and immured in a hole in the ground, in which, after some years of terrible suffering, he died. It is true that every warder employed to watch him was converted to the Faith, and that every one of them died for it, so that the missionary's life was not fruitless; but there is martyrdom which is evidently the gift of Christ, and there is martyrdom which seems almost to be the will of the martyr, Christian hero though he undoubtedly is. For self mingles strangely with the highest devotion.

(d) A desire
to follow our
Lord, even
to the Cross.

(d) The desire to be a follower of our Blessed Lord even to the suffering of the Cross is constantly expressed. "O my

Saviour," cried a Japanese lad of nineteen, under cruel torture, "your wounds are so great, mine are nothing." "Either the sword, the fire, or the cross, Lord Jesus," said another martyr, "according to Thy Blessed Will."

(e) Sheer delight in the hardest service ^{(e) Delight in hard service.} is frequently given as a motive. When in 1566 the plague raged in Rome, and the Jesuits did noble service, their reward was the promise, given by the Pope, that this service should always be given to them. Therefore we find Father Martinez, at Toledo, living in the terribly crowded plague hospital, among patients who lay so closely together that in order to hear their dying confessions he lay down between them. He was found lying dead among them, having died, no doubt, in the act. Another heroic missionary, one of many, was the "Blessed Peter Claver." His post was Cartagena, where the slave ships unloaded their wretched cargo. Little could be done, but that little he did; he met them, followed them to their quarters, and later to their plantations; he comforted, fed, loved them. He visited the lepers; he nursed the small-pox stricken; he taught them of God and of love, and they believed that which they saw in him. When illness had broken him, he had himself carried

amongst them to bless them, and when he died (Sept. 1654) he left a strong Christian Church as the memorial of his devoted love. This tender soul loved to be known as "the slave of the negroes."

"Remember that an apostle 'dies daily,' " wrote an old missionary to his young successor. "Do not then conceal from yourselves the difficulties; they are very great, and the ordinary measure of charity is not sufficient to overcome them. But the charity of Jesus Christ which animates you will no doubt augment your own."

THE
MISSIONARY
MESSAGE
AND THE
MISSIONARY
MOTIVE.

A great deal more is written about the lives than about the message of the missionaries. But, even where the method of adaptation was carried very far, when missionaries gave large attention to philosophy or science or even to politics, where they lived as Indian holy men or Chinese Mandarins, the underlying motive, in so far as it was purely missionary, was quite simple: they *feared* that souls for whom Christ died might be eternally lost; they *loved* those souls so well that they were willing to give their lives for their salvation; and they *believed* that the simplest truths of the Faith, taught with simplicity and clearness, and accepted, with the necessary Sacramental gifts, were sufficient for salvation.

The work frequently seems crude and facile as compared with the more highly elaborated methods of modern missions; but then as now, the holy living of the missionary was his most effective sermon. "The Spanish missionary from first to last," writes a historian of Peru and Mexico,¹ "has shown a keen interest in the spiritual prospects and welfare of the natives . . . has been ready to lift his voice against the cruelty of the conqueror, and the no less wasting cupidity of the colonist; and when his remonstrances, as was too often the case, have proved unavailing, he has still followed, to bind up the broken heart, to teach the poor Indian resignation under his lot, and to light up his dark intellect with the revelations of a holier and happier existence."

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND REFERENCE.

The Spirit of Japan. G. H. Moule. Ch. IV. S.C.M. 2s.
Missions. Mrs Creighton. Home University Library.
1s. Ch. II.

The Life and Letters of St Francis Xavier. 2 vols.
10s. 6d. Burns and Oates.

The Catholic Encyclopædia (any good library). The
articles:—*Orders, Missions, Counter - Reformation,*
Propaganda, and articles arising out of these.

¹ Quoted in *Jesuit Missions in Paraguay*, as written "by a writer uncatholic and anti-catholic."

CHAPTER VI

BY MISS RUTH ROUSE

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE IN THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS OF THE LAST TWO CENTURIES

Two factors are found throughout—the Call of God and the Call of Man.

Two corresponding principles—every missionary movement conditioned by (*a*) political and geographical facts, and (*b*) a spiritual awakening.

I. EARLY PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

The external factor—colonial expansion.

The inner factor—Halle Pietism and the Moravians.

II. THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH.

External factors.

Captain Cook's voyages.

The political expansion of Great Britain.

The anti-slavery agitation.

The educative effect of eighteenth-century missions.

The internal influence.

The Evangelical Revival:

In Germany—The Basel Mission.

In Britain—Wesley and Whitfield.

The characteristics of the Revival.

The effects—William Carey.

The foundation of the Missionary Societies.

The leaders of the spiritual revival are the leaders of the missionary revival.

The same factors at work in America, especially in the colleges.

The “haystack prayer-meeting” and the foundation of the American Societies.

Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke Seminary.

Thomas Chalmers. Alexander Duff.

III. THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The change in the situation—the world everywhere open.

Japan.

China.

India.

Africa.

The corresponding spiritual awakening typified in David Livingstone. The effects of his work.

Also in Hudson Taylor. The effects of his work.

IV. TO-DAY.

External factor—increased knowledge.

Differences between the modern situation and the earlier. The opportunity more urgent in Africa, in India, and in the Far East.

The unchanging inner forces—where are they to be found in recent times?

What is the reason for the inadequacy of the response?

Two factors. RIGHT down the ages two factors have determined the progress of the Kingdom of God, and made possible every missionary awakening: (1) the Call of the World, the turning of the heart of man towards his fellow-man, dependent on his increased knowledge of the world and its inhabitants; (2) the Call of God, the turning of the heart of man towards God, dependent on his increased knowledge of his own need and the greatness of God's salvation.

The call of world.

The call of God.

Let us study the action and reaction of these two factors, manward and Godward, as they are illustrated in the history of Protestant Missions in the last two centuries.

Two corresponding principles.

Two principles constantly emerge.

(1) No great missionary movement appears independent of the stimulus of geographical discovery, political extension on the part of Christian nations, or political development on the part of non-Christian nations. As Livingstone said: "The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise."

(2) No great missionary movement ever appears apart from a spiritual awakening, a turning of the soul to God individually, or corporately. As St John said: "We love, because He first loved us."

The external or manward factor in the development of all early Protestant Missions was the colonial expansion of the Protestant powers. One answer, though by no means a complete one, to the oft-repeated question, why the first glory of Post-Reformation Missions belongs so clearly to the Roman Catholic Church, is that the navigating and exploring nations of the sixteenth century were Spain and Portugal, that Columbus and other Roman Catholics discovered and claimed America, that Vasco da Gama of Portugal circumnavigated Africa and opened up the new route to India, China and ultimately Japan. The Roman missionaries followed the Roman explorers, soldiers, and colonists.

I.—EARLY
PROTESTANT
MISSIONS.

The external
factor.

Colonial
expansion.

The seventeenth century saw the expansion of the Protestant powers, Dutch expansion in Ceylon and South Africa, British expansion in North America, Danish expansion in Tranquebar, India, and in Greenland.

The founding of the first British missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1701, was the direct result of the awakened interest of a small group of men in the Church of England in our North American Colonies. Its design was "to settle the state of religion as well as may be amongst our own people there . . . and then to proceed

No corresponding
spiritual
awakening.

in the best methods . . . towards the conversion of the natives." But no widespread missionary awakening resulted from this beginning of missionary effort : the spiritual awakening, requisite to produce missionaries, was almost absent, at least in England.

Frederick IV.
of Denmark.

In 1705, the Danish king, Frederick IV., awoke to the spiritual needs of his Indian possessions, and commissioned his court preacher to find him missionaries. Diligent search was made. In the dry desert of the Continental Protestantism of the day but one oasis was found where missionaries could be produced, viz., Halle, in Germany, the seat of a newly founded University and the head-quarters of the Pietist movement. This movement was begun by Spener in Berlin and continued by August Hermann Francke, Professor of Greek and Oriental languages in the University of Halle, the founder of large orphanages and schools, and a bookpress for the spread of Pietist literature. The " pietism " of Spener and Francke stood for personal and practical Christianity displayed in life, as against the ruling intellectualism of the church life of the period.

Halle and
the Pietist
Movement.

During the eighteenth century, about sixty missionaries were sent out by the Halle-Danish Mission, to Tranquebar in India, and elsewhere.

The large majority of them were young men, trained in Francke's institution, caught by his spirit of absolute devotion to the will of God, and joy in the honour of serving Him in the most difficult parts of the earth. But the brightest missionary jewel in the crown of the Halle eighteenth-century Pietism is not the Halle-Danish Mission, great as were its achievements, but the Moravian Mission. The young Count Zinzendorf was educated under Francke's influence in Halle. The spirit of the place produced in him an overmastering love for the Lord Jesus, and led him, even as a child, to found a missionary band, whose object was the "Conversion of the Heathen, especially those for whom no one else would care." Small wonder that under his inspiration the "Unitas Fratrum," the Moravian Church, developed its peculiar missionary spirit. In less than two centuries that tiny Church, never numbering more than 70,000 members, sent out 2000 missionaries, and made neglected or dying races its particular province.

The
Moravians.

The greatest missionary awakening in our period occurred in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

II.—THE END
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY
AND THE
BEGINNING
OF THE NINE-
TEENTH.

On the one hand it was an era of vastly

External
factors.

extended knowledge of the world, and of awakened interest, political and commercial, in the nations outside Europe. External factors favouring a missionary awakening were present in force, chief of which were the following :—

Captain
Cook's
voyages.

(1) Between 1771 and 1782, the records of the voyages of Captain Cook were published, and excited immense interest. Their directly missionary fruit is shown in the large share they had in giving the Macedonian Call to William Carey; and in directing the first efforts of the London Missionary Society to the South Seas, and some of the early efforts of the Church Missionary Society towards New Zealand.

The political
expansion of
Great
Britain.

(2) The political expansion of Great Britain exercised its usual influence. The passing of Cape Colony from Dutch into British hands in 1795, sent the London Missionary Society into South Africa in 1798. The enormous colonial expansion of Britain in India during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the consequent immense development of the power of the East India Company, directed the notice of Englishmen towards India, awakened the national conscience and caused constant Parliamentary attention to be directed towards questions of reform in colonial administration there.

(3) Perhaps the most powerful precursor and ally of the missionary enterprise was the Anti-Slavery agitation led by Granville Sharp, and later by William Wilberforce. In 1772 slavery was abolished in Britain, and in 1786 Sierra Leone Colony was founded as a refuge for liberated slaves ; in 1807, the slave trade was suppressed, and in 1834, slavery was finally abolished in British territory. All these steps were won by ceaseless struggle and effort against the bitterest opposition of vested interests. A by-product of the struggle was the education of the British mind in the condition and affairs of the Negro Race, whether in Africa or in the West Indies, and a direct preparation for the missions established later by the Church Missionary Society in West Africa, and by the Wesleyans and the London Missionary Society in the West Indies and British Guiana respectively.

The movement for the Abolition of Slavery.

(4) Meanwhile the missionary efforts of the eighteenth century were not without their own educative effect. The publications of the Halle-Danish Mission familiarised men somewhat with the actual possibilities of the conversion of the heathen to Christianity as carried on by that mission in South India, and supported financially by the British Society for the Propagation of Christian

The educative effect of eighteenth century missions.

David
Brainerd.

Knowledge. Again the eighteenth century produced a book, which stands out beyond all others as possessing dynamic missionary force, *The Life of David Brainerd*, by Jonathan Edwards. This record of the brief life of a young missionary to the North American Indians exercised a direct spiritual and missionary influence on William Carey, Samuel Marsden, Henry Martyn, Thomas Chalmers, and through them on countless others. But neither geographical, nor ethnological, political nor even missionary education sufficed to fire the train which produced the explosion of missionary zeal, which opened the nineteenth century. There lay behind it in Germany, Britain and America a spiritual awakening of tremendous power.

Spiritual
awakening.

The
evangelical
revival.

Germany.

In Germany this awakening appeared as a revival of Pietism in South Germany and especially in Wurtemberg. Its headquarters were Basel. There "the lovers of Christian truth and holiness" gathered in groups to build each other up in the faith. Their original purpose of combating rationalistic theology was changed into an intense desire for the deepening of the spiritual life. They laid immense stress on the necessity for conversion, on strictness of life, on the importance of Bible-study; they took as their

highest and steadfast aim the extension of the kingdom of Christ. Instinctively this spiritual awakening culminated in a missionary movement, and in 1815, the Basel Mission House was started, from which many hundreds of missionaries have gone out. To its influence, direct or indirect, the founding of most of the modern German Missionary Societies is due. But it is not Germany and German Missions alone which owe a great debt to Basel, and to the earlier missionary training-school established by Jänicke in Berlin in 1800. Those German training-schools for many years supplied the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society with missionary candidates, while as yet British Christians were slow to respond to the missionary call. The motto of Basel no less than that of the Church Missionary Society was "Spiritual men for spiritual work," and the lives of Hebich, Gobat, Krapf, Pfander and many another bore witness that they realised their ideal.

The Basel Mission.

In Britain the Evangelical Revival affected the land far more widely than in Germany. The early part of the eighteenth century was the time of Britain's greatest moral and spiritual declension since the Reformation. Bishop Butler refused the Primacy because

Britain.

Need for revival.

he thought it too late to save a falling church, and wrote: "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject for inquiry but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in this present age, this were an agreed point amongst all people of discernment."¹

The Nonconformist Churches were apparently no less asleep than the Established Church. The corruption of morals was as deep and universal as the indifference of the Church.

Wesley and
Whitfield.

But by the end of the century, a mighty change had taken place. Wesley and Whitfield had preached the Gospel from one end of Britain to the other: men who followed in their footsteps sprang up both within the Church of England, and outside her. By the last decade of the eighteenth century the Wesleyan Methodists had become a distinct body; the followers of Whitfield had built up the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; both amongst the Baptists and the Independents the awakening had spread, while in the Church of England, a strong if small section were touched by the same flame, and came to be known as "the Evangelicals."

¹ Preface to the *Analogy*.

Everywhere the movement had the same characteristics : men *preached*, they preached simply, fervently and directly, to rich and poor, learned and simple alike ; and they taught consistently the same fundamental truths—"that men were dead in sins, that Christ died to save men from sin's penalty, and lives to save them from sin's power ; that only faith in Him could give them His salvation ; that absolute conversion of heart and life was needed by all, and that the Holy Ghost alone could convert and sanctify them."¹

Characteristics of the movement.

With a suddenness, like the ignition of the mixed elements of gunpowder, the eighteenth century developments of man's knowledge of the world and knowledge of God seem to combine in an explosion of missionary zeal and organised missionary effort.

The effects of the combination of the two factors.

In 1792, William Carey published his *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen* ; the same year he preached his sermon on Isaiah liv. 2, 3, under the headings : (1) "Expect great things from God ; (2) Attempt great things for God" ; in October of that year the Baptist Missionary Society was formed, and in 1793, Carey himself sailed for

William Carey.

The Baptist Missionary Society.

¹ *History of the C. M. S.*, by Eugene Stock, vol. i. p. 36.

India as a missionary, the first British missionary sent out by a British missionary society for work amongst the heathen.

The London
Missionary
Society.
Scottish
Boards.

In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed on an interdenominational basis. In 1796 two small Scottish missionary societies, the Edinburgh and the Glasgow, were founded, the precursors of the Missionary Board of the Church of Scotland, formed in 1829.

The Church
Missionary
Society.

In 1799 followed the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, unquestionably the expression of the missionary zeal of "the Evangelicals."

The Bible
Society.

In 1804, that most necessary handmaid of every missionary society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, came into existence.

The
Wesleyan
Missionary
Society.

In 1813 was founded the Wesleyan Missionary Society: this was, however, but a belated and formal expression of the widespread missionary activity which the Wesleyans had been developing in North America, the West Indies, and West Africa, ever since their great missionary pioneer, Thomas Coke, was despatched to the West Indies in 1786.

Who were
their leaders?

The parenthood of all these missionary societies and of others which followed them is proved to the hilt. Study the lists of the founders of these societies, and in every case

you will find them coincide with the roll of leaders of the preceding spiritual awakening in the particular Church concerned. To take the Church Missionary Society as but one example, Charles Simeon, the originator of the idea of the Church Missionary Society, John Venn, the first chairman, John Thornton, the treasurer, Thomas Scott, the first secretary, William Wilberforce, Charles Grant, John Newton, Richard Cecil, all these are at least as well known as leaders of the Evangelical Revival, as they are as founders of the Church Missionary Society.

The American missionary awakening at the beginning of the nineteenth century followed a path somewhat similar to that in Britain, save that the missionary movement there took its rise in the colleges in a way that had no parallel at that time in Britain. The manward factor appears to have been the reading of accounts of the founding of the British missionary societies. A very special influence was exercised by Claudius Buchanan's great missionary sermon, "The Star in the East." The Godward factor was "revivals of religion" as they were called, which began to appear periodically in the New England colleges, and which succeeded a period of unbelief and spiritual deadness. After one of

The same factors at work in America.

The place of the colleges.

The "Haystack prayer meeting."

these revivals in 1808, three students, Samuel Mills, Gordon Hall and James Richards, discovering that the Spirit of God had kindled in each of their hearts the desire to give themselves to missionary work, held the famous "Haystack prayer-meeting," and formed a society the object of which was "to effect a mission to the heathen in the person of its members."

American Societies.

On entering the Theological College at Andover, they formed a similar society amongst their fellow-students there. There was at that time no American missionary society in existence, but the request of six of these young men to know "whether they, in their desire to go as missionaries to the heathen, would be supported by a missionary society in the homeland," led in 1810, to the formation of the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions"; and later on in 1814, to the formation of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

The Methodists in 1819, and the Episcopalians in 1820 founded their own societies.

"The Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions" in the Andover Theological Seminary continued its work for many years. It employed practically all the methods of the Student Volunteer Movement of to-day,

except regularly organised missionary study circles, and continued to influence the progress of the American missionary societies in a most remarkable manner. Nothing is more marked in its history than the way in which its volunteers, as they record their missionary calls, testify to the close connection of these calls with religious revivals in the colleges.

The same phenomena were manifest later amongst women students as well as amongst men. Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke Seminary with a distinct consciousness that the money given to build it came from the pockets of those who would otherwise have given it to missions, and who expected it to become a source of blessing for the world. Scarcely a year passed without a revival in that Seminary, a revival which frequently cost Mount Holyoke her best teachers for the mission field. In 1842, for example, Mary Lyon attended the meeting of the American Board, and was deeply impressed with the desire that her Seminary should be more pervaded by the missionary spirit. She called a prayer meeting of teachers and scholars and the Seminary was consecrated anew to the cause of missions. Six of the twelve teachers then in the Seminary went to the mission field. Miss Lyon wrote later : " I little knew

Mary Lyon
and Mount
Holyoke
Seminary.

what that prayer meeting would cost me." The following year, when Dr Perkins asked for two teachers to go to Persia, forty girls handed in their names as willing to go or as interested, amongst others Fidelia Fiske, the best known of all Mount Holyoke's hundreds of missionary daughters.

Onward throughout our period we can trace the action and reaction of the same two factors, manward and Godward.

Thomas
Chalmers.

The personal awakening of Thomas Chalmers and the powerful influence of his intellect and personality, led to an evangelical awakening in the Church of Scotland. Chalmers' spiritual influence on his pupils in St Andrews University combined with reports of the successful work of the Baptist Missionary Society and London Missionary Society in India, and visits of returned missionaries, such as Marshman and Morrison, produced a missionary awakening amongst the students of St Andrews.

St Andrews

In 1825, Alexander Duff, Nesbit, Wilson and others formed a "Students' Missionary Society," a veritable Student Volunteer Band, and six of Chalmers' most brilliant students gave themselves to foreign missionary work. One of the many results of this small student movement was the foundation of the great

Scottish missionary colleges in India, and the development of the whole system of modern educational missions.

When Duff described his call to the mission field, he makes its spiritual origin abundantly clear. "There was a time when I had no care for the heathen; that was a time when I had no care for my own soul. When by the grace of God, I was led to care for my own soul, then it was I began to care for the heathen abroad. I then said to God: 'Oh Lord, thou knowest that silver and gold have I none: what I have I give unto Thee: I offer Thee myself: wilt Thou accept the gift?'" Alexander Duff.

In the same way we might show the mighty missionary results of the evangelistic work of William C. Burns in Britain and Canada, and of Charles Finney in America. But we must hasten on to the missionary crisis in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the events of modern history gave a call to the Church absolutely unparalleled in its urgency. III.—THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Up till that time the question confronting the Church was this: "The world is *there*; will it open to the Gospel? Is there a door through which the Church may go?" Missionary records of the first half of the nineteenth century were gradually convincing the Church that the door was both there, and possible

Changed outlook.

of entry. Suddenly, a veil as it were was rent, and the world was revealed to the Church open, waiting, and in desperate social and spiritual need. The question was no longer, "Can the world be opened?" but "The world *is* open. Will the Church enter in?"

The year 1858 has been called the "Annus Mirabilis" of Christian Missions.

Japan.

In 1858 the fast closed doors of Japan opened. Up to that time, the presence of foreigners in Japan or of Japanese abroad was proscribed under pain of death. In 1853 the American squadron under Perry demanded a treaty and forced open two ports. Five years later Lord Elgin steamed up the Gulf of Yedo, and compelled the Treaty of Yedo, opening six ports, and obtaining most important concessions as to the presence of foreigners in Japan. Japan was open, and every modern mission in Japan was made possible.

China.

In 1858 another great closed land was thrown open. Missionaries had, it is true, worked in China since 1807, but only in treaty ports. The disgraceful opium wars culminated in the expedition of Lord Elgin to China in 1858, and in the Treaty of Tientsin. Discreditable to Great Britain as was the history leading to this treaty, it had two good results.

The interior provinces of China were opened to the preaching of the Gospel, and the protection of the Chinese authorities was promised to all missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike. China was open.

In 1858, as the result of the Indian Mutiny ^{India.} the year before, the Government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. Conditions under which missionaries had worked in India were changed in many directions ; and the results were soon seen in the revival and extension of Indian missions.

In 1858 the Victoria Nyanza was discovered, ^{Africa.} the culmination of the marvellous series of explorations by which within fifteen years Krapf and Rebmann, Burton and Speke, and Livingstone himself had crossed Africa from East to West, discovered Mounts Kili-manjaro and Kenia, the great Lakes of Central Africa and the sources of the Zambezi and the Nile. Central Africa was open ; the slave trade was doomed ; and the great missions in Central Africa were planted—Scottish Presbyterian and Universities' Mission, on Lake Nyassa, L.M.S., on Lake Tanganyika, C.M.S., in Uganda, B.M.S., in the Congo, French Missions on the Upper Zambezi, as well as others.

This sudden opening of the world threw

The corresponding
spiritual
awakening.

into clear relief the duty of the Church towards her unevangelised fellowmen. Was there the corresponding awakening towards God which alone could stir her to perform her duty? It is impossible to trace all the many streams of spiritual blessing that undoubtedly prepared the missionary response which was demonstrably made. Let us only study the history of the turning to God of two of His children, with the consequent missionary results wrought out through their lives.

David
Livingstone.

David Livingstone was converted when about 20 years of age. At once he writes: "Humbly believing that through sovereign grace I have been enabled to accept salvation by Christ, and having felt, in some measure, its effects on my still depraved and deceitful heart, it is my desire to show my attachment to the cause of Him who died for me by devoting my life to His service." He had at first no thought of being a missionary himself, but his thoughts are drawn towards the non-Christian world and he soon writes: "Feeling that the salvation of men ought to be the chief desire and aim of every Christian, I resolved that I would give to the cause of missions all that I might earn beyond what I required for bare subsistence." Further knowledge of missions gained from reading Gutzlaff's

appeals for China led him to personal decision for missionary service. In writing to the directors of the L.M.S., he says:—"I have never had any great desire to become a minister at home: all my predilections being in favour of missionary work abroad. At home the population is fairly well supplied, while the majority of the population of the world is entirely destitute of the means of grace. The greater prospect of usefulness and the fact that even were the present rate of self-dedication of qualified persons to that cause greatly augmented, many millions must perish without even the chance of hearing the glad news of salvation by Christ, would render it imperative on me, if qualified, and on all other qualified Christians to obey the command of our risen Redeemer. My desire is to see the kingdom of my Saviour established in the hearts of all those, who are now in that state in which I myself once was."

Practically all the great missionary efforts in Africa mentioned above (p. 165), were the result of the appeals of David Livingstone on his return to England after his various journeyings. His heart burned for Africa because it had first burned for Jesus Christ; his words awoke the missionary purpose in

The effects
of his work.

many a heart, prepared for the missionary call in like manner by some spiritual awakening.

The Oxford
Movement
and the
Universities'
Mission.

It was the appeal of David Livingstone, for example, that precipitated one of the first great missionary results of the Oxford Movement. In 1857 Dr Livingstone appealed to Oxford and Cambridge to plant a mission in the vast regions of South Central Africa, which he had just crossed. "I go back to Africa," he said, "to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you." The younger men in the Universities, who had been touched by the Oxford Movement, responded, and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa was the fruit.

Hudson
Taylor.

Turn to the life of Hudson Taylor. He was converted as a lad of sixteen, but his conversion was succeeded by a painful deadness of soul, which, however, left him with a deepened sense of dependence on the Lord, that remained his through life. "Not many months after, I retired for communion with God, again and again confessing grateful love to Him who had done everything for me. I besought Him to give me some work to do for Him, as an outlet for love and gratitude. Well do I remember, as in unreserved con-

secration I put my life, my friends, my all upon the altar, the deep solemnity which came over my soul with the assurance that my offering was accepted. For what service I was accepted, I knew not, but a deep consciousness that I was no longer my own took possession of me, which has never been effaced." Not long afterwards, he records that his soul was longing for true holiness. "Never shall I forget the feeling which came over me. I felt I was in the presence of God entering into the covenant with the Almighty. I felt as if I wished to withdraw my promise but could not. Something seemed to say 'Your prayer is answered, your conditions are accepted.' And from that time the conviction never left me that I was called to China."

In 1853 Hudson Taylor was sent out as a missionary by the Chinese Evangelisation Society. After some years he was invalided home. In 1865 the burden of China, open indeed, but as yet with less than one hundred Protestant missionaries, was heavy on his soul. Again it was a spiritual crisis in his own soul, which preceded a fresh missionary call. "On Sunday, at Brighton, unable to bear the sight of a congregation of 1000 or more Christian people rejoicing in their own

His spiritual crisis.

security while millions were perishing for lack of knowledge, I wandered out on the sands alone in great spiritual agony: and there the Lord conquered my unbelief and I surrendered myself to God for this service. . . . Need I say that peace at once flowed into my burdened heart. There and then I asked Him for twenty-four fellow workers, two for each of the eleven inland provinces which were without a missionary, and two for Mongolia, and writing the petition on the margin of the Bible I had with me, I returned home with a heart enjoying rest such as it had been a stranger to for months, and with the assurance that the Lord would bless His own work and that I should share in the blessing. I had previously prayed and asked prayer that workers might be raised up for the eleven then unoccupied provinces, and thrust forth and provided for, but had not surrendered myself to be their leader."

China Inland
Mission.

Thus, in 1865, the China Inland Mission was established, and next year Hudson Taylor sailed for China with fifteen missionary companions. The effect of Hudson Taylor's consecration of himself to God, on the evangelisation of the world and the whole missionary policy of the Church, have been incalculable. Not only has the C.I.M. in 48

years sent out approximately 1835 Christian missionaries to China, and opened up province after province hitherto untouched, but the reflex influences of the mission on other missions have had powerful effects. The policy of faith of the C.I.M. has again and again caused other missions to take courage and launch forth on similar though not identical paths. In 1884 the Cambridge Seven, the spiritual children of Moody's Cambridge Mission two years before, offered themselves to the C.I.M. Extraordinary interest was roused in their going; they pled for missions and for consecration to God through many of the Universities of Britain and America. Not only did the C.I.M. receive hundreds of offers of service, but almost every other missionary society felt the same rising tide. Again it is the first commonplace of Student Movement history, that the Student Christian Movement in Great Britain, and the Student Volunteer Movement both in Britain and America are in a very real and direct sense the children of the going forth of the Cambridge Seven.

The
Cambridge
Seven.

The Student
Christian
Movement.

Let us pass to the missionary situation of the present day. What motives are driving men into the mission field?

As regards the manward factor, never has

IV.—TO-DAY.

External
factors.

there been a day in history when the needs of the world, and man's responsibility for his fellow-men, were so remorselessly made clear and pressed home to the Church. The last fifteen years has seen the inception of systematic missionary study by the Student Movement, its adoption by all the missionary societies of Great Britain and America, and many on the continent of Europe, and its adaptation to every class of possible learner, learned or unlearned, child and adult, student, layman, woman.

Missionary
study.

Missionary
literature.

The same period has seen the production of much specialised and some scientific missionary literature, and not only its production, but its study; witness only the enormous circulation of the Reports of the Commissions of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference of 1910. Missionary articles have found their way first into the official magazines of the Churches, and then into the secular press.

Greater
prominence
of missionary
work.

Missionary subjects have been given prominence not only in missionary conventions, but at religious gatherings of all sorts, Church Congresses, Free Church Councils, Pan-Anglican and other pan-ecclesiastical assemblies. And the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, perhaps the greatest religious gathering ever held, was a *missionary* convention.

The mid-nineteenth century missionary crisis was a tremendous one, the mid-century missionary appeal one of immense power, but it was made to Christians, who knew the needs of the non-Christian world in but a general way. We know, or may know with far less effort than they, every feature of the world's need, social, political, racial, intellectual, moral, and spiritual.

Differences between the modern appeal and the earlier.

Knowledge.

The presentation of the world's need to the Church has changed with changing history. The Mid-Victorian call was as much an appeal of "crisis" and "opportunity" as is the call to-day—yet it differed from it radically.

Then the appeal was the appeal of "the opened door" in Africa, India, China, and Japan. *To-day* the appeal is the appeal of a door, open indeed, but not unlikely to be closed in the face of the Church, if she remains inactive. "Africa Waiting" was an appropriate title for a mission-study text book, even sixteen years ago: it would not do to-day. Africa is *not* waiting. She is accepting Islam, where she is not being given the chance to accept Christianity. And the acceptance of Islam by pagans means a door at least relatively closed.

Opportunity.

Africa.

Then the call was the call of the field ready

India.

for seed. Who will come forward as the sower? *To-day* the doubt is not whether the Church will sow, but whether she will exert herself to reap the harvest she herself has sown. The mass-movements in South India and in the Punjab presage a harvest of many millions. The field is ripe to the harvest, but the reapers are almost absent, and unless they come forward the harvest will go unreaped, or fall to the reaping-hook of some other power than the Church of Jesus Christ.

Far East.

Then the opportunity was the opportunity of two great closed lands forced open by the sword—of China and Japan most unwillingly stirred in their sleep by the voice of the West. *To-day* the opportunity is the Far East, not merely stirred, not even merely open, but awake and wide awake. And no missionary from China, as he labours to make us see the extraordinary readiness and eagerness of the Chinese to hear the Christian message to-day, but warns us that, if the Church does not in her turn awake, an opportunity lost in Japan twenty-five years ago, will be lost in China within the next five years, and it is an opportunity of far greater magnitude.

The external factor in the missionary

motive has clearly changed from age to age. As clearly does the inner and deeper factor remain unchanged. From era to era, as we have studied our period, whatever the call of the world's need, no great missionary movement has taken place apart from a spiritual awakening; the most powerful and only essential missionary motive has ever been grounded on man's relation to God, his sense of love and gratitude to his Father, his experience of the greatness of the salvation that is in Christ, his loyalty to the revealed Will of Christ for the world, and his loyalty to the Spirit of his Master.

The inner factor unchanging.

Is this inner and deeper factor providing the missionary motive of to-day? Have we in our midst the spiritual awakening which gives birth to a great missionary movement? As we look back over the last forty years there is much to show that God is pressing in on us to show us His grace and power, and that He has ever been so pressing in. There have been great spiritual awakenings: the work of Moody and Sankey in America, and in Britain in 1872-4, and again in 1884, powerfully moved the Christian world. The conferences founded by Moody at Mount Hermon and Northfield lay behind the founding of the Student Volunteer Movement both in

Is it here to-day?

D. L. Moody.

Britain and America, as well as the going forth of the Cambridge Seven, and contributed most effectively to a missionary revival.

Other revivals have appeared, the Welsh in 1904-5; and men to whom God has given the gift of an evangelist, such as Dr John R. Mott, have been used throughout the university world to awaken educated men and women to the claims of Jesus Christ.

Conference.

Revivals in the older sense of the word occur perhaps less frequently, and with less wide effect, but may it not well be claimed that the place of the old revival has been taken by the kind of spiritual awakening promoted so constantly and steadily by the conferences, conventions and retreats which are such a marked feature of the religious life of our age; or again by the steady, continued work of voluntary religious organisations, such as the Student Movement, in fostering the spiritual life?

Mildmay and Keswick, and other similar gatherings for the deepening of the spiritual life, "retreats" of all kinds amongst those of a different school of thought, Swanwick in Great Britain, Northfield and Silver Bay and all their sister conferences in America, and again their kindred conferences amongst the students on the Continent, all these as well

as the Student Volunteer Conventions themselves have, by turning the hearts of men to God, turned them surely and inevitably to the needs of their fellow-men.

Yes! the spiritual awakening is not absent—that must be granted. And yet in face of the call of the world as we know it to-day, the response is so appallingly inadequate. Why? Is God's Spirit striving less with man? Or is there something still lacking in our knowledge of the need? Or where else may the blame be cast?

Why is the response inadequate?

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND REFERENCE.

- The History of the C.M.S.* Eugene Stock. 3 vols. 18s.
The Story of the L.M.S. Silvester Horne. 3s. 6d.
Short History of Christian Missions. George Smith, LL.D., Hamilton. 2s. 6d.
Geschichte der Baseler Mission. P. Eppler. Basel. 4m.
Story of the China Inland Mission. Mrs Hudson Taylor. Morgan. 3s. 6d.
Wesley's World Parish. G. G. & M. G. Findlay. Hodder. 1s.
History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England. A. R. Balleine. Longmans. 1s. 6d.
William Carey. G. Smith, LL.D. Everyman. 1s.
Wesley's Journal. Everyman, 4 vols. 1s. per vol.
Samuel J. Mills. T. C. Richards. Pilgrim's Press. Boston. 6s.
Alexander Duff. G. Smith, LL.D.. Hodder. Out of print.

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- Personal Life of David Livingstone.* W. Garden Blaikie.
1s. Murray.
- D. M. Thornton.* W. H. T. Gairdner. Hodder. 3s. 6d.
- G. Grenfell.* G. Hawker. R.T.S. 6s.
- Gilmour of Mongolia.* R. Lovett. R.T.S. 2s. 6d.
1892.
- Griffith John.* R. Wardlaw Thompson. R.T.S. 3s. 6d.
- James Chalmers.* R. Lovett. R.T.S. 1912. 1s.
- Life of Hudson Taylor (Early).* Dr and Mrs Howard
Taylor. Morgan. 7s. 6d. 1912.
- Coillard of the Zambezi.* C. W. Mackintosh. Fisher
Unwin. 5s. 1912.
- Thomas Chalmers.* W. G. Blaikie. (Famous Scots
Series) 1s. 6d.
- Missions.* Mrs Creighton. (Home University Library.)
1s. Chs. iii-xi.

CHAPTER VII

BY DR H. T. HODGKIN

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE AND THE MODERN WORLD SITUATION

WORLD UNIFICATION.

National and racial changes.

Growth of intercommunication.

The birth of a new era.

A comparison with the age of St Paul.

The nations to-day in a plastic state.

Dangers and opportunities of the situation.

THE QUICKENED SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

Christianity and the worth of the individual soul. Growth in modern times of the social consciousness.

The bearing of this idea upon the missionary motive.

The repetition in the East of the social evils of the West.

The hope of the redemption of society.

The new view is not in opposition to the old, but includes it.

MODERN THOUGHT.

The weakening of the sense of sin.

Repugnance to the idea of the perdition of the heathen.

Effects of the study of comparative religion.

The Missionary Motive

Modern thought has not destroyed the missionary motive.

The doom of the heathen cannot really be a "motive."

The fact of the failure of heathenism.

The infinite difference between a life in Christ and a life without Him.

The positive appreciation of what Christ is to us.

This sense of gain is enhanced by modern knowledge.

The vision of a redeemed humanity.

It is easier to judge a sinful world than to believe that God can transform it.

THE CHURCH IN THE MISSION FIELD.

The position revealed by the Edinburgh Conference.

The old view emphasised the numbers of foreign missionaries.

The Church in the mission field must evangelise.

The need for foreign missionaries remains.

Opportunities for Christian leadership.

The need of the unevangelised fields.

WE have now to look at the present world situation so far as it affects the missionary motive. In doing so, our attention must be concentrated upon features which are characteristic of the times. A gradual change has been taking place during the last generation, and this has only now begun to take its full effect. We have been awakened to

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its significance by no single event more than by the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. The previous chapter has traced the development of thought. It is the purpose of this one to take what may be called the standpoint of the Edinburgh Conference and look at the situation now existing.

The changes which have recently taken place and are still taking place in world conditions are so well known that there is no need to enumerate them in detail. In less than half a century the map of the world has been completely altered. In Europe the last fifty years have seen many changes, culminating in the movement which has almost driven Turkey from her last foothold in the continent, and placed millions of her former subjects under Christian rule. Even more significant are the changes which have taken place in other continents. In Africa vast tracts of country and huge unlettered populations have come under the influence or dominance of civilised nations, and a multitude of new problems has been created by the exploitation of the continent and the mingling of race with race. In Asia a world-power has appeared on the Far Eastern horizon, another and still greater power is passing through its birth

I.—WORLD
UNIFICATION

National
and racial
changes.

throes into a new life. The influence of Russia has been pushed far to the east and to the south. Persia has left its old life behind, and her fate still hangs in the balance. Within a few years we may expect changes of great significance even in Mongolia and Thibet. Each one of these movements serves to increase the influence of the Christian upon the non-Christian peoples, and no less their responsibility towards them.

Intercom-
munication.

Concurrently with these momentous changes, and as one of the factors contributing to them, has been the extraordinary growth in the rapidity and ease of intercommunication. No great event takes place in any part of the world that is not known and discussed by the readers of newspapers in every civilised country on the next day. Translations of noteworthy books and articles are made into scores of languages, so that the thought of mankind becomes unified to a degree not even dreamed of a century ago. Commerce is opening up the markets of Asia and Africa to the enterprise of Europe and America, and changing completely the economic conditions of the larger part of mankind. Travel brings thousands of men and women every month into touch with the conditions of life in other nations. Emigra-

tion from Europe to America, from China to the Straits and the Eastern Archipelago, from the Turkish Empire to South Africa and South America, from England to her dominions oversea—these and other movements of masses of men are bringing the nations into touch with one another at a thousand new points. Perhaps even more significant for the future of mankind is the unprecedented movement of students from one country to another, from Russia to Swiss and French universities, from China and Japan to America, from India and Egypt to England, and so forth. No mere statistics can adequately convey the hidden possibilities of this stream of communication between race and race.

Fifteen hundred years ago the Roman world **A new era.** was compelled to face a new world situation by the irruption of young, strong nations coming from the north and east. Four hundred years ago the Europe of the Middle Ages was called upon to reckon with a new factor by the discovery of the American Continent. To-day, a no less complete readjustment of life, of international relationships and inter-racial problems, is forced upon us by the movements to which reference has been made. The situation is utterly unprecedented. A new era has been commenced

in our own lifetime, and we are compelled to face its deeper significance.¹

This vast network of fresh problems is of absorbing interest to the student of history and of human nature. To the man whose life is dedicated to the Kingdom of God there comes a loud and urgent call. What is to be the basis on which this new world is to find the solution of its intricate problems? How are the diverse races to meet without strife? Is unity possible in all this diversity? On a smaller scale the same problem was faced by St Paul in the cities of Asia, where East and West were mingling in a common life. Sir William Ramsay, comparing that period with the present day, says:² "So profound is the difference [between East and West] that in their meeting either war must result or each of them must modify itself. There is no power except religion strong enough to modify both sufficiently to make a peaceful union possible, and there is no religion but Christianity which is wholly penetrated both with the European and with

¹ Compare Mr Bryce's Romanes Lecture, p. 8: "The conditions that are now vanishing can never recur. . . . It is hardly too much to say that for economic purposes all mankind is fast becoming one people. . . . Such an event opens a new stage in World History," etc.

² "Letters to the Seven Churches," preface.

St Paul and
the Græco-
Roman
world.

the Asiatic spirit. . . . It is now becoming plain to all that the relation of Asia to Europe is in process of being profoundly changed. . . . The long unquestioned domination of European over Asiatic is now being put to the test, and is probably coming to an end. What is to be the issue? That depends entirely on the influence of Christianity."

If these words be true, they carry with them a summons to the men and women of to-day to whom Christ is Lord, a summons perhaps more insistent and of larger significance than in any previous period of world history. It has also to be remembered that there are periods in the life of nations when they are peculiarly susceptible to outside influences, and are in what has been well termed a plastic state. A generation ago Japan entered upon such a state, while China seemed to be utterly immovable. To-day China, and, to a lesser degree, other nations, are in this state. Their awakening life is calling many into their service to-day. There is a fascination in such a life-work. To be at work in an "age on ages telling" seems to the thoughtful life of our generation a truly high and noble calling. To extend the hand of fellowship, and to give our best to the new nations; to lead the way to world-sympathy and world-

The nations
plastic.

fellowship; to bring Jesus Christ into the heart of this new, joyous, expectant life; to create the spirit of brotherhood and drive out suspicion and jealousy between races—these are tasks worthy of the utmost endeavours of our generation.

Dangers
and oppor-
tunities,

A further strong emphasis is given to the call by a consideration of the danger of not responding to it. A recent writer, viewing the situation not from a missionary standpoint, has said:¹—

“There is no room for doubt that the tendency of modern Western civilisation is materialistic; and because the East has made up its mind to go back to school, and has put Western lesson-books in its satchel, the Asiatic world is becoming materialistic too. Herein lies a danger to all the higher intellectual and spiritual interests of mankind, and it behoves all who value such interests to rouse themselves to a sense of the growing peril” (R. F. Johnston, “The League of the Sacred Hills,” *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1913, p. 308).

Both the opportunity and the menace which face this generation are unprecedented in their magnitude. Never before has it been

¹ Cf. also “Christianity in the Modern World,” D. S. Cairns, pp. 253 ff.

possible to discuss these issues on a world-scale. To-day they cannot be considered on anything less. It is a notable fact that already some four hundred international organisations have been brought into existence to serve many different ends. On all sides men are recognising the growing unity of the human race. Advance in one part means an impetus to the forces of progress the world over. The drift into materialism in one country makes it harder for men everywhere to believe in God. Only a fresh breaking out of the life of God within the Church can stem the tide. The consequences of a strong forward policy undertaken to-day under His leadership will be beyond calculation. For its accomplishment, the young, vigorous life of the Church is needed, and, if there be failure here, how great will that failure be !

Among the most distinctive contributions of Christianity to human thought is the heightened sense of personality, the greater dignity and worth of the individual—of every human soul—which has come to us through the message of Jesus Christ. The emergence of this thought has been, indeed, a prime factor in the progress of the human race during the last nineteen centuries. It would be impossible to set forth even a fraction of what

II.—THE
QUICKENED
SOCIAL CON-
SCIOUSNESS.
Christianity
and the
worth of the
individual.

it has meant in the reform of criminal laws, in the emancipation of the slave, in the purification of human relationships, and in many other directions. At the same time, it has brought with it a certain tendency to forsake the older, more communistic views of society, and the sense of human solidarity. Nowhere has this been more pronounced than in Protestant countries. Evangelical religion has concentrated its message on the individual. To save men one by one has been the aim of the evangelist, whether at home or abroad. "The missionaries," says Prof. W. D. Mackenzie,¹ "have gone out to do the work of saviours. They believe that this is the one purpose for which it is worth their while to sacrifice their whole careers, and, if necessary, yield up their lives. Their whole object, the one constant endeavour which is ever present to their minds, is the making of individual heathen men and women into Christian converts. . . . To the mind of the missionary, the word 'lost,' which fell from the lips of Jesus, described accurately, if dismally, the condition of heathen men and women. Having received something of the Spirit of Christ into his heart, he yearns to be the means of delivering some men and

¹ "Christianity and the Progress of Man," p. 199.

women out of their dread condition into the life of divine fellowship." While we should not, for one moment, lose sight of so distinctive and vital an aspect of our message, we are coming to appreciate the value of a truth which was in danger of being submerged.

Our own generation may have lost something of that supreme passion for the saving of one single soul which would make this seem an adequate reward for a lifetime of service. But it has gained a new and larger thought of the Kingdom of God. This has come to us partly through the fresh light thrown upon this phrase by modern scholarship. It has also come, in part, through that contact with other races which have a keener social consciousness (if a less keen individual one) than we. Great social movements have had their effect on religious as well as on secular thought. We have seen with new eyes the unspeakable social evils which threaten society as well as the individual. We have found, with all the force of a fresh discovery, that Jesus had a message for the social order as well as for the individual soul. Gradually, it is true, but none the less surely has this conviction been deepening and spreading in our generation.

Growth of
the social
conscious-
ness.

For a time it may have seemed to some

The bearing
of this idea
on the
missionary
motive.

as if the missionary motive were weakened. It mattered less to go into distant lands in order to save a few scattered souls. It mattered more to Christianise our own country, to see that our message meant all it was intended to mean to ourselves before we carried it to the ends of the earth. As we have appreciated, however, the full significance of this new emphasis, we have learned our world-responsibility in a new and wider way. It is true that society cannot be redeemed unless individuals are won out of darkness into light ; but there is also a sense in which it is true that the salvation of the individual cannot be complete when he lives in an unredeemed society.

Social evils
of the West
being re-
peated in the
East.

The social evils which we are combating at home are many of them due to modern conditions of life, or at least aggravated thereby. The rapid growth of the factory system, the crowding into large cities, the increase of luxury, the prevalence of intemperance, these and kindred causes have to be reckoned with here. The fact which ought to seize our imagination is that the very same causes are operating abroad, and that *the contact with Christian nations* is in many cases introducing new dangers into non-Christian lands. "In Japan and India the

Western factory system is now being rapidly developed, often with unsatisfactory results. The former country is already beginning to experience that bitter and shameful accompaniment of factory life, the slum problem. It looks as if the beautiful home industries of India must pass away before the growing use of machinery, and the capitalising of industries. It looks as if in large regions those painful years must be lived through which England endured in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, ere the regulation of the factory system was undertaken. And in the midst of all this confusion, largely caused by industrial competition, the missionary from the West must do his work. In the eyes of the people, he is identified with these new movements which have destroyed their peace. He must prove that he can help them to find their way to a better and a richer social life.”¹

In the light of these thoughts we may see our work from a new point of view. We see the hospital and the missionary doctor not simply as a means to win individual patients into the Kingdom of God. We see the school and the college, not only as a method for recommending our message or training up the

The re-creation of a Christian Society.

¹ *World Missionary Conference Report*, vol. v. pp. 8, 9.

leaders for a native Church. We see them also as parts of a co-ordinated whole, a deliberate effort to translate Christ into the terms of modern need, and bring His message to Society in such a way as to re-create it on Christian lines, and so establish the Kingdom of God. As this aspect of the work of God in the world begins to take shape in the minds of men to-day, the missionary call is not found to be less urgent. On the contrary, the magnitude of the task threatens to crush us. The modern missionary is seen to be "the founder of all the Christian nations that are to be, if the nations are to be Christian."¹ For the man or woman who yearns to do great things for God there comes a call to all that is best in him to a heroic life worked out, it maybe in the terms of commonplace duties, but doing these "in statesmanlike fashion, for he will be setting himself to the fulfilment of the purpose of God, in his own people and in the world."² While still hearing the cry of the many individuals, for no Christian mission work can be in the true succession which is deaf to this, the modern missionary hears above it and through it all the cry of the new nations, and of the nations that are

¹ *World Missionary Conference Report*, vol. v., p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

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yet to be; he presses out, to redeem men and women, it is true, but, in their redemption, to lead the way to a Christian society, to build on earth the Kingdom of God.

In this wider missionary motive there is to be included the earlier one of saving individual souls. That view of life to which we are moving is one which must include the full message of Christ to each one. It is not an antithesis between one view and another which now concerns us, but rather a higher synthesis. We must entirely repudiate the suggestion that there is to be any short-cut method to the redemption of society. This cannot fail to lead to disaster. Through the redemption of the individual, however, we do see the larger ultimate goal, and for that we work with deliberate purpose. For those who have this end in view, it is no small encouragement to see a recognition in certain unexpected quarters of the place which Christianity may have in a reconstruction of society. The summoning of Christians to the recent conference of religions in Japan,¹ and, we may hope, the still more recent call to prayer by the Chinese Government, seem

The new view is not in opposition to the old, but includes it.

¹ Cf. e.g. *International Review of Missions*, "Survey," by J. H. Oldham, and *National Review*, January 1913, E. Bruce Mitford, *The Future of Japan*.

to show that thoughtful leaders in the East are beginning to see that Christ has some contribution to make to the national and social life of these great nations.

III. MODERN THOUGHT.

Everyone is aware of the fact that we live in an entirely different world of thought from that in which the modern missionary epoch was commenced. Without attempting anything approaching a full statement of the changes which have taken place some reference must be made to them if this chapter is to fulfil its purpose. Any criticism it may evoke should be modified by the recollection of the disparity between the magnitude of the subject and the limits of space allowed for its treatment. All that can be done here is to instance some of the directions in which modern thought affects missionary principles, and then to state positively the missionary motive in terms which that elusive entity, the modern mind, can take hold of and respond to.

Among other ways then in which the missionary motive is affected, some say weakened, or even destroyed, by modern thought, we may note the following :—

Weakened sense of sin.

(a) We are told that “the higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishment.”¹ We

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge, *Man and the Universe*, p. 220.

speak less to-day of God's righteousness and justice and more of His love. There is thus a tendency to regard the state of the heathen as less desperate and the hope of their ultimate salvation, apart from Christ, as brighter than in a former generation.

(b) We feel a natural repugnance to some of those strong dogmatic statements as to the fate of the heathen after death which once prevailed. Those in Christian lands who have heard the Gospel and not responded seem to be in worse case than the multitudes who have had "no chance." The keener appreciation of unchristian conditions in the so-called Christian countries serves to deepen in many of us the sense that missionary propaganda should wait on social reform at home.

Repugnance to the idea of the damnation of the heathen.

(c) The careful comparative study of religions; the belief that all nations are moving, in the slow evolution of things, by different routes, to the same good; the clearer appreciation of certain elements in our own Scriptures—these influences have continued to produce an uneasy question, within as well as without the Church, as to whether after all Christ is absolutely unique, and whether we are not narrow-minded in urging His exclusive claim to the allegiance of mankind.

Effects of the study of comparative religion.

It is not possible for us to discuss how far these and other similar movements are to be welcomed, and how far they should be deplored. The fact remains that nearly all of us are being influenced to some extent by them, and that the missionary appeal ought to be presented in such a way as to avoid any legitimate criticism from the modern point of view.

Not destructive of the missionary motive.

Some there are who have not been affected by these movements. Others may regard them as so destructive of the Christian religion as to need argument at an earlier point than is here attempted. The following paragraphs can be passed over by any such. In order, however, to help the not inconsiderable group of those on whom the problems press, and who seek a solution, we may indicate the lines on which a restatement is being made by many who, while deeply influenced by modern thought, are still the convinced supporters of foreign missions, and in many cases filled with missionary zeal. That there are many men and women in the mission-field to-day who would answer to this description may at once be taken as a final proof that modern thought has not destroyed the missionary motive.

A. The sense of the possible or probable

doom of the heathen is not found to be a true spring of action. Dr Gibson, for example, writes (*Mission Methods and Mission Problems in S. China*):—

“ I feel bound to say to you that, whatever conclusion one might be driven to by irresistible conviction, I at least could never speak of the belief that all heathen men and women and children who do not hear the Gospel are inevitably doomed to eternal death, as a *motive* to the work of missions . . . it would weigh with crushing force and could never be a spring or motive for action.”

The doom of the heathen not a “ motive.

Rather do we find that a vivid appreciation of the actual condition of men who are “ without hope and without God in the world ” takes possession of men’s hearts and consciences.

While much has been written of the beauty of the savage life, or the charm of a Buddhist country unspoiled by the Christian missionary, one cannot get away from the fact that this is only one side of the picture, and a highly coloured one sometimes at that. In approaching the study of another religion, the effort sympathetically to understand its best need not blind one to the actual failure of that religion in the life of the people. No doubt some pictures of heathen-

The failure of heathenism.

ism have been painted too darkly. No doubt the theory that every non-Christian system was an invention of the devil has been a great mistake. But we must remember, as Dr Gibson puts it, that "the shallow solution often offered, that if the heathen live up to the light they have they shall be saved, is no solution. They do not live up to their light, and so the difficulty remains." The case is so well stated by Dr Garvie that little need be added. He says, "To the man whom Christ has truly and fully saved and blessed by the grace of His cross and His Spirit there is simply an infinite difference between life in Christ and life without Christ *here and now*; and, as life beyond is the harvest of what is sown in this life, there will continue to be an infinite difference. Contrast the physical, social, moral, spiritual condition of the peoples who have received the Gospel of Christ with that of those who as yet know it not; and then dare to say that it does not matter whether the Gospel is preached or not. Those who indulge themselves in such an idea usually boast their breadth of thought; but here they show the narrowness of a breadth that is shallow without any depth. Ultimate future destiny seems to be the only thing they concern themselves about; if the same

The difference between a life in Christ and a life without Him.

end can be anticipated for all, they seem to think nothing else meanwhile matters. But surely it does matter whether men think truly, love tenderly, and live holily here and now, or are deceitful, cruel, and unclean. Surely it does matter whether old age is honoured and tended, womanhood protected against lust and violence, and childhood kept innocent and gracious, or whether in social relations might is right. Surely it does matter whether barbarism is perpetuated, or civilization is advanced; whether men live in terror of demons, and seek to propitiate them by cruel and abominable rites, or trust the Heavenly Father and serve Him with a good and a godly life. Surely it matters whether death is darkness and desolation to the soul, or brings the fulfilment of a blessed and glorious promise of immortality."

Even when one looks candidly at so noble an ethical system as that of Confucius, one is compelled to recognise its lack of power for the carrying out of its principles in daily life. Anyone who has seen, as the writer has done, a Confucian scholar of high moral character and a simple childlike spirit responding gradually to the highest truth as he found it for the first time in the New Testament, and coming by steady, slow, sure

steps to the point at which he could fully commit himself to Christ, cannot fail to realise that we have a message for the non-Christian world which is not found in those scriptures even at their best.¹

A positive appreciation of what Christ is to us.

B. Thus we come to the still deeper motive springing out of an appreciation of what, positively, Christ is to us. Salvation is not simply deliverance from penalties physical or moral. It is deliverance into a life of freedom, of service, and of joy. Christ brings men to the fulness of life. What He has done for us He can do for others. What He is to us He can be to them. He is this to us because of His essential nature—Son of Man and Son of God—and thus His Gospel is for all sons of men who are called to become sons of God. No merely theoretical conception of Christ can bring to men this

¹ *Cf.* the words of an ex-Confucianist in Japan quoted in Report of Commission IV., World Missionary Conference, 1910, p. 109.

“When I first read the New Testament I thought, ‘This Jesus is a sage. Of course He is not the equal of Confucius, but He is worthy to rank as a sage.’ Then I read again and again the life and teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, and compared them with the teaching of Confucius. Confucius did not fall in my estimation, but Jesus constantly rose. His teaching and character took hold of me. He increased, until I was forced to the belief that, while Confucius is a sage, Jesus Christ is God, and I want to dedicate my life to His service.”

missionary motive. The measure of my missionary enthusiasm is the value of Christ to my own soul. Only out of a living experience of Him can men go forth to the work of saving men. It might be possible, if one only thought of saving men from future ill, to go out with a mere head knowledge—not that one would suggest that such has been the case in the past. But this conception of the missionary's work throws one back utterly on personal knowledge of and fellowship with Christ.

To this sense of personal gain, through Christ, is added the growing sense of social gain, the message of Christ to womanhood, the meaning of the Christian home, the enhanced value of human life and human personality, and so forth. Thus we go forth to preach "life from the dead" in its fullest and widest meaning. We see a reaching out towards God, a pressing on towards a worthy national and social goal. What we know of Christ assures us that in Him, as historically revealed, and as personally experienced, we have the answer ; and we cannot keep silent.

This sense
enhanced by
modern
knowledge.

C. A third modern expression of the missionary motive is worthy of mention. Partly through the changes referred to above, and partly as a consequence of the success of the

The vision of
a redeemed
humanity.

missionary enterprise in many lands, there has come to stand out, perhaps more clearly than at any previous time, the glorious vision of a redeemed humanity, when the full contribution of the thought and life of every section of the human race shall be brought to the understanding of the heart of Christ and the exhibition of the Christlike life. This may be, to some extent, in conflict with an idea prevalent at various times in the history of the Christian Church, viz.: that of a sudden climax when the few should be saved and the many destroyed. We realise keenly the brotherhood of humanity. We know that we are all of one, and, while we are prepared to accept, in the last resort, the possibility that there may be souls that cut themselves off from life, our idea of the kingdom must include a very large extension of the Divine power and grace into areas at present untouched. It requires a larger faith to feel God moralising the life of the world than it does to believe in Him as destroying the large portions which are evil. It is much easier, in concrete terms, to call down fire upon the drunken man or the prostitute, or upon Sodom and Gomorrah, given up to wickedness, than it is to transform them so that they shall fit into the kingdom of God ; but it is this last

Faith more
difficult than
judgment.

task which the Christian Church, however imperfectly, now recognises as laid upon itself. We are faced with the same difficulty that came to Jonah when he realised that Nineveh was to be saved, and not destroyed. Our generation is being put to a like test. Can we not face it boldly, and, instead of turning away despondent, win from the magnitude of the task a fresh motive for entering upon it without delay? From some who have seen this vision there has been a response, as there has ever been when men have been called to desperate ventures from the days of Leonidas to those of Garibaldi.

To the Christian public generally scarcely any result of the Edinburgh Conference was more surprising than the revelation which it gave of the size and character of the Church in the mission field. This might be called the new factor in the missionary situation. No addresses were more eagerly followed, or made a deeper impression, than those by such men as Bishop Honda and Dr Harada of Japan, Mr Cheng Ching Yi of Peking, Hon. Yun Chi Ho of Korea, Rev. V. S. (now Bishop) Azariah of S. India. These men were seen to be true statesmen of the kingdom of God, facing situations more complex and critical than anything at home, and doing

IV. THE
CHURCH
IN THE
MISSION
FIELD.

The Edin-
burgh Con-
ference.

so with broad vision and keen intellect. More recently the notable series of conferences held by Dr John R. Mott in Asia, under the auspices of the Continuation Committee, has added greatly to the sense of the power of the Church in the mission field.¹

The old view emphasised the numbers of foreign missionaries.

While the point of view here referred to was not wholly lost sight of, it is nevertheless true that less than a generation ago all calculations, as to the need in non-Christian lands, were based on the assumption that the work of evangelisation would be done by foreign missionaries. Figures were constantly presented showing the proportion of missionaries to heathen, as compared with, say, the proportion of ministers to population in Christian lands. There was a call for what seemed like an indefinite increase of foreign missionaries in order to adjust the balance. The crushing logic of the missionary call when so presented seemed irresistible. How any consecrated man who was free to go could stay at home seemed, in the light of such a comparison, almost inconceivable.

¹ Compare, *e.g.*, what is said of the Shanghai Conference and in other words of nearly every one: "The presence of these Chinese delegates, and the important and helpful part they took in all the discussions, was one of the most noteworthy features of the Conference, and marked a new departure." Also articles in *International Review of Missions* on Indian and other Conferences.

The appearance of this new factor completely upsets such calculations. In any case they are dangerous, for the things of the kingdom of God cannot be mathematically computed. Now they are seen to break down altogether, and it is well. They have served their purpose, and may be boldly discarded. The Church in the mission field compels a readjustment of all our thinking in this matter. It is no mere group of parasites or "Rice Christians." It is instinct with life ; it is taking up gradually and, in some cases, with startling rapidity, its rightful task, the evangelisation of its non-Christian brethren.¹ The missionary is preparing to take a back seat.

The Church in the Mission Field must evangelise.

Although, at first sight, it might seem as if the need for more foreign missionaries was rapidly disappearing, a closer view of the situation will soon disabuse our minds of any such thought. Let us glance first at the complex problems which face the new Church. Not only must it spread the Gospel to regions as yet untouched. It must set about the task of raising up a strong native leadership. It must formulate the faith in terms which come closer to the life and thought of Eastern

The need for foreign missionaries remains.

¹ This cannot, unfortunately, be said of the Church in all fields, but is a true description of the condition in the more advanced ones, and is the goal towards which rapid progress is being made in others.

nations than do the creeds and dogmas of the West. It must present an apologetic to meet the special criticisms brought by non-Christian philosophies. It must produce a literature and educate the vast numbers of illiterate who are pressing to join its ranks. It must assimilate the moral principles of the Gospel and apply them to its own social conditions (as to the marriage question, household slavery, etc.). The great coming struggle with heathenism will demand its utmost efforts. Within its own borders there is much that is far below the true Christian standard. It has yet to find and take its true place in the national and social life. In this formative stage it is easy to see how many and how great are the dangers with which it is beset. At many different points error may gain a foothold, and its new life be stunted or misdirected.

Need for
Christian
leadership.

Seeing this vision we are called to help. Now is the time when we should not hold back of our very best, when we should help liberally and speedily. The future of these great nations, and of the Churches within them that ought to inspire and lead them, calls to us with a peculiar and almost plaintive voice. Now that the Churches are winning and coming to their own there stretches out

before us a unique opportunity for spiritual Empire building. Even as St Paul was called upon to exercise the highest gifts of Christian statesmanship in helping the infant Churches of Asia and Greece to stand upon their own feet and overcome the many dangers which beset their first faltering footsteps, so the missionary to-day is called to be the counsellor and friend, the teacher of teachers, and the leader of leaders, in order that he may help this new life to take shape and find expression in fruitful ways. The men and women of to-day who hear this call and respond to it do not need the startling array of figures which come to some as a call to battle, to others with a crushing sense of the hopelessness of the task. They are called to a work more comparable to the closing months of the Master's life than to the early period of extensive preaching. As He spent Himself upon the twelve, so, in our measure, must we to-day give our best to the few and be well content. As He was "in the midst as One who served," so must the missionary learn to take his place humbly not as the ruler but as the servant-leader of those committed to his care.

This, however, is not the whole story. Still there stretch out before us vast unevangelised territories and populations where no Church

The un-
evangelised
fields.

is yet even in its infancy. Should anyone doubt this, let him read the report of Commission I of the Edinburgh Conference. When he has accomplished that task, he will not, it is true, be oppressed by the mere weight of figures, but he will be filled with a deep sense of the greatness of the task, its complexity, its urgency. Out of the bare presentation of the facts of to-day there will come to him the overpowering conviction that men and women are still needed—better and more than all we have yet given—if the world is to be won for Christ. The leaders of this young Church in the mission field are themselves the first to voice this need, and this is what they say :—

“When one thought of the vast number of the population, what had been done in the past was nothing.”

REV. YUGORA CHIBA (Japan).

“The minds of the Chinese were now empty, and this was the time for Christ to step in. . . . On behalf of the Chinese who had accepted Christ he besought them to take immediate steps.”

PROFESSOR T. Y. CHANG (China).

“He pled for an adequate number of men

and women to teach and train up that little country in the Christian religion.”

Hon. T. H. YUN (Korea).

“We want immediately a large increase in the foreign workers, not only for the unevangelised portions of India, but also to strengthen the Church in the already evangelised portions.”

Rev. V. S. AZARIAH (India).

Surveying the ground we have so hastily covered, we look around us and see how vast are the changes which are taking place to-day both in outward circumstances and in the world of thought. Through them all, and to meet them all, have we, the children of this age, a missionary motive strong enough in its hold upon us, and broad enough in its sweep, to make of our generation what it is surely called upon to be, the greatest missionary generation in the history of the Church of Christ? The answer to that question will be given in large measure by the lives of the men and women who read this book.

FOR FURTHER REFERENCE.

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Christianity in the Modern World, by D. S. Cairns.

The Hope of the Redemption of Society, by Malcolm Spencer. Student Christian Movement. 1s.

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CHAPTER VIII

BY W. PATON

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION.

Resumé of the preceding chapters.

The two factors in the missionary motive.

I. THE MOTIVE ARISING FROM THE CONDITION OF THE WORLD.

(a) Responsibility for foreign nations.

(b) The appeal of physical and social need.

(c) The hope of the Kingdom of God.

(d) The call of the growing Church in the mission-field.

(e) The world-wide fact of sin.

II. THE MOTIVE ARISING FROM THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION OF GOD.

The "Mission" of Christ.

The Incarnation.

The Cross.

The Resurrection.

III. OUR DUTY.

A new valuation of life.

Vocation.

The call to work at home—work for foreign missions that can still be done.

The call to go abroad—in what capacity?

Commerce.

The Missionary Motive

Government service.

The call to missionary work.

Some difficulties.

How shall we know the call?

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SAINTS.

A resumé of
the preced-
ing chapters.

DURING the chapters which have preceded this, we have been carried through a great part of the history of the expansion of Christianity in the world, and we have been able to watch the development of the missionary idea in the hearts of Christian people who have been faithful to their Lord. The first chapter showed us that, deeply rooted in the life, teaching and work of Jesus Christ, the missionary enterprise springs from a simple obedience to Him. The story of St Paul showed how the passion that inspired the first mission to the Gentiles was born in the experience of redemption. The Roman Empire appeared as the environment of the infant Church, which conquered it for the faith, not so much by systematic effort as by its own natural and victorious growth, in so far as it was possessed of the spirit of its Lord. The break-up of the Empire and the incursion of the Barbarians showed us again the Church advancing, more sporadically now, with daring romantic journeys of the monks into a wild and pitifully needy world. Later we see

Christendom divided, and the Roman Church in a great missionary outburst claiming the world for the faith; while later again with the Evangelical Revival the Reformation principles become translated into missionary action, and the vast impulses of the last two centuries in Protestant Europe find their outlet and expression in a great and growing work of missionary expansion. Last of all we have just seen that as modern men and women, living in the full light of the modern world, we find nothing to weaken, but much to strengthen, the motive that should drive us to missionary work.

There is a gallery of portraits in these pages, and an interesting chapter in the history of ideas, but there is much more. We have here set forth in individuals, societies and movements extending over a period of nineteen hundred years, a certain attitude of the human soul towards God, which, beneath changing externals, has remained fundamentally the same. From St Paul's days down to our own we have seen in all its sublime simplicity the joyful obedience of men and women redeemed through Christ, whose eyes God has opened so that they see His love for the world and the world's need of Him, and gladly offer themselves as messengers of His grace to mankind.

Two factors
in the
missionary
motive.

In each missionary epoch and in each missionary life there have been two aspects of this essential soul-attitude, or rather, two factors which have combined to produce it. On the one hand there has always been some human circumstance which has moved men's hearts and provided the form of the missionary appeal. The misery and degradation of the heathen, or the vistas of earth opened up by travel and colonisation and calling God's messengers to claim them, or the spectacle of great nations deserting their immemorial creeds and civilisations and entering new and dangerous paths—these and many other things have from time to time arrested the attention of Christian men and formed a call to service. Yet we should woefully misunderstand the history that has been set before us if we saw only this side. The other side is equally clear, that it was only as men were alive to the revelation of God in Christ, only as they were faithful to the inward monition of their conscience, that they were able to see the real meaning of the facts before them, and were willing to obey with their lives the call they discerned there.

If, then, the history of the missionary motive is not the history of an idea but of an obligation, we are compelled to examine its

bearing upon us to-day. There is grave danger in the study of such a subject as this in a purely academic spirit. We are dealing here with eternal truths which have as real a challenge for us as for any men and women since Christ came. It is our duty to find out for ourselves what is the call of God to us to-day in the condition and need of the world, and to face anew the everlasting things of God Himself, unchanging through the mutabilities of earthly circumstance.

1. What motives impel us to-day to missionary work as we view the condition of the world?

I.—THE
MOTIVE
ARISING
FROM THE
CONDITION
OF THE
WORLD.

(a) We cannot get away from the fact that each nation is bound up with others in a mutual interdependence. The growing unification of the world has made us all in a new sense "members one of another." While this is true universally of every nation under heaven, it is in a special degree true of those nations which have imperial responsibilities. Holland has her immense East Indian colonies, France is definitely responsible for Algeria and Madagascar, German diplomacy is exercising a powerful influence in the near East, in South America, on the China coast, and, of course, most definitely in her great Colonial Empire. It is impossible to forget that there are more

(a) Responsibility for other nations.

Moslems in the British Empire than in the world outside it. Indian education, too, to take only one of the many influences of our sway in India, is producing for good or evil an entirely new type of Indian character. South and Central Africa have been remade at the will of European nations. It is too late to say that we need not, should not, interfere. We are interfering right and left in ways that are sometimes evil and generally secular. Is it possible to ignore our responsibilities on the religious side? Even where there is no political connection the wonderful nervous system of the world's commerce brings nations into close and sometimes dangerous contact. The United States has had, until recently, little in the way of empire, but no one will deny the eminent place her sons occupy in every land to which they go. Grain comes by the ship load from India to Great Britain, copra comes from the South Seas, and rubber from Ceylon, from the Congo, and from Peru. German trade makes its mark in every Eastern port. We are driven to ask whether we have any right to share with the nations our material things alone. Is the land of Luther to send to China nothing but trade agents? Is the land of Wesley, Patteson, and Hannington to be represented only by

the clerk and the engineer? Are even those who go in trade to have no consciousness of their religious duty to the people from whom their life is drawn?

(b) Very few things appeal more poignantly to us than the spectacle of physical misery and need. It may be because it is concrete and definite, or because for many of us it is easier to sympathise with than spiritual need—at least it is true that physical misery moves us profoundly. It is sometimes the case that the material miseries of western lands are set against the missionary appeal from non-Christian lands, in spite of the fact that such miseries are tenfold worse where they have not undergone even that partial mitigation which Western science, medicine, and, social activity have wrought. With all the gross and needless misery which yet stains the civilisations of the West, it is still true that the Christian nations are in the van of progress, and that within their bounds have been developed the skill and knowledge by which everywhere health and strength may be increased. It is their privilege to share these benefits with less fortunate lands. It is a great thing to be able to relieve pain, and help to make the human frame on its physical side what God meant the human frame to be.

(b) Physical
and social
need.

The work of doctors all over the world, of women doctors in the Zenanas of the East, the witness of those who fought the plague in Manchuria, and starvation in the plains of India—these things have not been the least among the weapons of foreign missions. Missionaries have carried with them the Christian view of the body as the temple of the Holy Ghost, and both by healing, by inculcating ideas of cleanliness and decency, and by such things as the introduction of athletics (an admirable solvent of the theory that the body does not count!) have encouraged the growth of a Christian feeling in these respects in the countries to which they have gone. An instance of the need for this may be seen in the fact, (as one missionary writes), “that in the United Provinces of India the population in 1911 was proved to have decreased by half a million, that the decrease had taken place almost entirely from among women, and that in all probability the reason lay in the simple fact that shut up in the zenanas they were the special prey of the plague-infection carried by rats. You can see there at once the direct connection of the religious system and the physical life.”

(c) The Kingdom of God in the world.

(c) These considerations, however strong they may seem to us, are yet slight in com-

parison with the wider and graver situation which the Church is facing to-day. She has within her the hope of the Kingdom—the *reign*—of God upon earth. Though the consummation of that hope is beyond our imagination, yet we have the key to the understanding of it if He is ruling in our own hearts. The new life which every Christian man has in his heart is an earnest of that wonderful order which God is waiting to bring in in the world. We know the world is not like that. It may be true that much of western thought is leading men back to a spiritual view of the world, though luxury and greed still reign among us, but all witnesses agree that the East with the break-up of the old religions is becoming rapidly more materialistic in tone. The growth of the Western system of industry is introducing into the East iniquities from which the West is only gradually freeing itself. (In India and Japan, for instance, there is much evidence to show that child-labour in factories is as bad as before the Factory Acts in England.) Education with its gigantic possibilities for good or ill is advancing everywhere, and where it is not guided by men and women of religious faith, a set is being given to the new generation which it may be very difficult to alter. The great migration of students from India,

China, Japan, and Africa to the universities of Great Britain, the continent of Europe, and America, is taking thousands of men (and large numbers of women too) into new environments where they will learn either to believe in Christ or to despise Him. The growing movement among women in the East, and the increasing spirit of democracy, represent two great forces which will work untold good or ill, according as the Church guides them or leaves them. It is with a world-wide need like this that the Church has to grapple, and to leave it alone is to be overwhelmed by it.

Is there not in all this a call to men and women who believe with all their hearts and souls in the Kingdom of God to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty? All that culture and experience of affairs can give of insight and ability to pierce below the appearance of things will be used to the full, but above all there is need of men and women who are so certain of the coming of the Kingdom that nothing can quench the devotion and faith that is in them.

d) The growing Church in the mission-field.

(*d*) Something has been said in the last chapter about the growth of Churches in the mission field, and the significance of the fact should be noted here too, where we are considering the motive that comes to us from the

world-situation to-day. By God's grace there have already been planted in most parts of the world Churches upon whose progress everything depends. Christianity has been naturalised in many different lands, and the hope of the future lies with these growing communities. They can spread the Gospel both by preaching and by life as any number of missionaries could never do it. What they need is not so much leaders as *servants*—men and women who will share with them the stored-up experience which centuries of Christianity in the West have given the Church, and who will give it all in utter humility, desiring only the noble name—*Servus Servorum Dei*.

(e) Lastly, we can never shut our eyes to the fact of the world's sin. All the new know-^{(e) The universal fact of sin.}ledge we possess of the life of the great non-Christian peoples shows us that there, as in our own lands, the root of all national and individual failure and decay is the sinfulness of men. Sin is offence against God, and has little meaning apart from Him. God alone knows what sin means in its terrible reality, and in the Cross we have the measure of the suffering it brings to Him. But in a humbler measure all who have known God in Christ realise what sin is, they know it by contrast

with the holiness of Jesus, and they know it because in the knowledge of their own sin they have the key to the need of the world. It has been shown in the last chapter that modern views of sin do not alter this fact. It is enough for us that at the end of every one of the million fibres into which the main nerves of the missionary enterprise branch out there is a human soul, much like ourselves, standing in as real need of God as we do. The knowledge of redemption in Jesus Christ, —and nothing less than that—will surely fill us with a longing to give the news of that redemption to all for whom it was wrought.

11.—THE
MOTIVE
ARISING
FROM THE
CHRISTIAN
REVELA-
TION OF
GOD.

2. So far we have sketched for ourselves very roughly the main motives to service in the mission field which the study of the need of the world presents to us. From this point we now turn to the other side of the question, namely, the eternal motives rooted in God Himself, and valid for every man and woman in every age and clime to whom the knowledge of God in Christ has come.

The
"Mission"
of Christ.

The writer of the first chapter struck the note which has sounded through the whole book, that the missionary cause is in the last analysis not human but Divine. It is founded not in any human impulse, however exalted, but in the revealed nature of God. The going

forth of the missionary is a part of the Divine scheme of things. The great Mission—the great Sending—was the sending of Christ into the world, and the going forth of all His followers has been the continuation of that Mission. “As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you” (John xx. 21). The final sanction of the Christian Mission is the fact that Christ was sent to seek and to save that which was lost.

It is therefore in the Incarnation that we find the supreme motive to foreign missions. The Incarnation.
In the Person of Jesus Christ we see and know the fulness of God, and in Him too we realise what is in man. It is because our God, the God whom we love and worship, is such an one as we see in the face of Jesus Christ, that we know He must be for all men. It is because Jesus the Son of Man has taken all manhood up into Himself and revealed the possibility of a redeemed humanity that we can never be content to leave any of the families of man without the knowledge of the Divine purpose for them.

But Christ was sent, not only to teach and The Cross.
preach, to heal diseases and cast out devils, but to give His life a ransom for many. For all of us whom the touch of sin has seared, the Cross is the heart and life of the Gospel.

In the Cross we have the inalienable assurance of the love and mercy of God directed as it were to the very point that troubles us most, to our sin and the sin of the world. In that scene on Calvary, where the mercy of God and the sin of man are knit up together in the death of Jesus, we see an Act of God, true through time and eternity, wherein the forgiveness of God is for ever made free to all humble and contrite souls. For if we have passed from "Jesus died" to "Jesus died for me"—if we are assured that something was wrought in the Cross which avails for us too, we are debtors for a redemption which by the very terms in which we have it is for all mankind. In such a matter debtorship means one thing alone. We do not *deserve* our salvation and we cannot *repay* our Saviour, but we can give our own lives that the redemption which is in Him may be made known to them. "The love of Christ constrains us."

The Resur-
rection.

Nor is this all. In the token of the Resurrection we have God's own vindication of the Cross of Jesus Christ. "Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, . . . God raised from the dead" (Acts iv. 10). The humility and lowliness of Jesus, the suffering and the death, are all taken up and eternally glorified in the Resurrection. The infant

Church knew in that the sign of its victory, and the constant burden of its testimony is "whereof we are witnesses." It is not less true for us than it was for them, that in the rising of Jesus from the grave we have the certainty that behind us and with us, as we follow Him, we have the illimitable resources of the power of God.

The Incarnation lifts us above the hopes and desires and yearnings of our own souls. We see there the yearning of God over His children. If we suffer, we are but filling up that which is lacking of the suffering of Christ. If we labour, we know that we are fellow-labourers with God.

These, then, are the two sides upon which the missionary motive meets us to-day. They are, of course, inextricably woven together. God uses the facts of time, the movements of the peoples, the ebb and flow of human forces and powers to awaken us to the eternal verities. Nor have we any right to speak of the condition of the world as a missionary motive unless it does in this way awaken us to God and force us upon the deep things of His love. If "the crisis in China" is only a phase, a highly important phase it may be, in the history of that land, then it is not truly a motive to missionary work. But if

The combination of the two elements.

it means that beneath this temporal change we are enabled to discern the ultimate issues of human life, and to gain a vision of God yearning over His children, then our talk of "crisis" may be taking us to the roots of things.

III.—OUR DUTY.

What does this mean, then, for us? Our study must result in action, or it is barren. If the missionary motive is in this way a thing not of one age or one stage in a nation's development, not for one class or type of men, but as universal in its bearing as man and the God whom he worships, it must touch us all. None of us can escape it, if we are to be truly Christian.

A new valuation of life.

It will mean, in the first place, a setting upside down of our usual valuation of life and action. We do not seek *first* the Kingdom of Heaven. If we are to be faithful, the extension of that Kingdom must be the prime consideration of our lives. It will not be an activity to which certain times and monies will be given, but the inspiring and dominating thought of all our life.

Vocation.

But the particular thing that will be demanded of us, and especially of all of us who are on the threshold of active manhood and womanhood and can choose what we will do with our lives, is that we obey the call of God in the decision of our vocation. Certainly nothing less is demanded of us. It is not

enough that we determine to serve God faithfully in whatever station we are in. It is necessary also that we serve God by the work we are doing, because it is the work He would have us do. The main work of our lives will claim most of the force that is in us, and we must see that that full stream of life is flowing in the channel which God has appointed. For He has a plan for every one of us.

There are many callings into which God may direct a man or a woman. It may be some work in the home land—the ministry, teaching, medicine, commerce, art. If God calls you to any of these, then it is in that vocation that He means you to extend the Kingdom. And if you have a call to work at home, it may be every bit as glorious and self-sacrificing as work abroad—if you have the call. If you have not, there is no drudgery like living a life—successful and comfortable though it may be—which is not in conscious harmony with the Divine purpose.

It may be added that for those whom God calls to stay at home there is ample opportunity to work for foreign missions. The men and women in the mission field lean on the prayers of the people at home, it is real work that we do when we pray for them. They have to be

The call to work at home.

Work for foreign missions that is to be done at home.

Prayers.

Gifts.

Organisa-
tion.

Friendship
for Oriental
students.

The call to
go abroad.
In what
capacity?

Commerce,
etc.

supported financially. How many men who could not go themselves might yet have provided funds for some one else to go. There is all the propaganda of the great missionary societies, which sorely needs to be done by men and women of the widest vision and deepest faithfulness. There is the question of Oriental students in the universities of our homelands. A very real service to the missionary cause can be rendered by any who will open their homes to these men and women, who in their loneliness not infrequently get into evil surroundings and carry back with them to their native lands a hatred of English civilisation and a complete ignorance of Christianity.

But if you are called to go abroad, the question must be settled—in what capacity? Shall it be in trade, or in a profession, in Government service as administrator or educationalist, or shall it be as a missionary? There is much to be said for each. Scores of men go yearly to the great mission lands in commerce, or in such professions as engineering, and are brought into close contact with men of non-Christian faiths. There is any amount of opportunity for a man to witness to Christ in such posts, both by direct evangelistic work, and not less by his Christian

conduct in his profession or trade. But he must be called to it.

Government service abroad presents an enormous field for Christian service. There will be much to attract men and women of a missionary spirit to this sphere. For one thing financial burdens would not thereby be laid upon the Church at home, and for another, there will always be a certain weight attaching to the Christian witness of men and women in the service of the State. On the other hand would have to be reckoned the fact that opportunities for direct Christian work would be necessarily curtailed, to some extent at least, in an official post; and further it has to be remembered that Government is not a missionary society, and there will not be the strong spiritual backing, at least in general, which comrades in a mission would give. Here again a man or woman must be called.

It will probably be to missionary work, in the limited and technical sense, that the minds of many readers of **this** book will have turned, and it will be well to review some of the difficulties that instinctively present themselves.

(a) "Can I leave my home and cause undue suffering to my dear ones?" If you are quite sure that it is God's will that you become a missionary, then you have His promise that

Government service.

Missionary work.

Some difficulties.

all the human affection you sacrifice will be received again a hundredfold. The spiritual bond which unites kinsfolk and friends is not really dependent upon bodily propinquity; and where in obedience to God's will parting is willingly faced and endured, it is the experience of very many who have been through the trial that the bond is strengthened and the affection deepened and purified.

(b) "Shall I be wasting my life?" Probably this question comes to the lips of surprised friends more than to those of the man and woman who is thinking of missionary service, but it is so often repeated that one is sometimes fain to believe it. The question is ridiculous in view of the men and women who have gone to the mission field and found opportunities for labour so great that they could only embrace a hundredth of them. There is hardly a single sphere of labour at home which may not be found abroad too, with the added opportunity that the workers are few and the need very great. It is only ignorance of missionary work that regards it as unworthy of first-class abilities and talents.

(c) "Shall I have to live always at a spiritual tension which allows no place to the joy and mirth of life?" There will be the Cross. No one can do missionary work, or indeed

any work for the Kingdom, who is not willing to bear the Cross and perhaps to have its marks in his body. For those who live in the midst of a heathen society and on whose hearts the burden of heathenism lies heavily there must always be times of spiritual agony—as there should be for us at home if we were less callous and case-hardened. But to those who bear the Cross there comes power to bear it. “If thou bear the Cross cheerfully,” says Thomas à Kempis, “it will bear thee.” Certainly, missionaries do not appear less cheerful than other people, and it is true everywhere that the peace and joy which Christ gives are only to be found with those who have utterly given themselves to this service.

(d) “I am not good enough.” Many men and women have felt this. The missionary who is appealing seems to have a measure of consecration which we have not, and which seems beyond our reach. But is anyone really “good enough?” In the sense of having within himself spiritual power to undertake the missionary task, assuredly no one is good enough. If you ask the saintliest missionary you know, he will tell you that. “I laboured more abundantly than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me” (1 Cor. xv. 10). The key to the whole matter is—

are you called? If you are, then you are God's instrument to perform a task for which He has chosen you. The one qualification, without which nothing is possible, with which all things are possible, is that you be willing to do the will of God as He makes it known to you. All other things His Spirit will provide.

(e) "How can I know whether I am called?"

How do we
know when
God calls
us?

To each man or woman the knowledge of the call of God comes in a different way, and we shall only get misled if we expect precisely the same experience for ourselves as some one else has had. There are three principles of which we may be sure.

(i.) We are not alone in desiring that we may do God's will. He desires it too, and we have His promise that all who truly seek His will shall find it. "Ask, and ye shall have; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." But we must ask, and seek, and knock.

(ii.) We must prepare for great choices by being faithful in small ones. It is by treating the whole of life as a trust given us by God and to be lived in the light of His guidance that we become able to accept His will in the crucial moments of life.

(iii.) We must face the issues fairly, with such knowledge of the alternatives as we have

been able to get, shutting out prejudice, ambition and selfishness. And we must pray continually. If we do this and keep to it, we need not fear but that when we have to decide the way will become clear. Light may spring up suddenly in the darkness ; or we may be led quite simply to what seems like a purely rational conclusion ; but in some way or other we shall be *sure* that we are doing the right thing.

We ought to remember too that the time for decision may well be earlier than we think. When is the time for decision ? The modern emphasis upon the missionary's preparation shows that. Any time wisely spent in study before going out will be ten times repaid in efficiency and usefulness. A decision made in ignorance is to be deplored, but the only decision that is "too early" is one made before the call has really come. When we think of the difference it would make to our future efficiency if, during the last year or two in college, we looked forward definitely to the mission field and did all our work with that in mind, we can see that the "time for decision" may well be nearer us than we think.

We are now at the end of this study of the Christian Missionary Motive. It has led us

The fellow-
ship of the
saints.

to examine anew the purity and sincerity of our own spiritual life, to face again the truth of God in Jesus Christ, and it may be to dedicate ourselves in simple obedience to the telling of His Gospel wheresoever He will have us go. Let us in the spiritual solitude which is inseparable from every supreme choice take courage in the thought of the noble band of men and women of whom we have read. "They overcame because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives even unto death" (Rev. xii. 11). If there be sacrifice before us, we know that we shall be humble members in a chivalry of sacrifice. If there be labour before us, we know that we take up that which they laid down. And beyond them we look to Jesus, their Lord and our Lord, who is with us always.

"Therefore let us also, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, . . . run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Perfecter of our faith."

FOR FURTHER STUDY AND REFERENCE.

Christ and Human Need. S.C.M. 2s. Especially the addresses, *The Death of Christ* and *The Resurrection*, by T. R. Glover and D. S. Cairns.
Vocation, by T. R. Glover. S.C.M. 6d.

APPENDIX

TABLE OF DATES

THE appended table contains the dates of a number of the principal events in missionary history, and also of a number of the principal events in the secular history of the time. Those events in the main have been chosen which have some bearing, direct or indirect, upon the subject-matter of the several chapters. A glance at the table will show the connection of the missionary enterprise throughout with the great movements of history. Careful reference should be made to the table during the study of each of the historical chapters.

COMPARATIVE DATES

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY
64		Beginning of Neronian persecution
70	Fall of Jerusalem	Persecution by Domitian
95-96		Martyrdom of Ignatius at Rome
98-117	Trajan Emperor	Martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna
c. 110	Pliny's letter to Trajan	Martyrdom of Justin at Rome
c. 112		Persecution at Lyons and Vienne in S. Gaul
156	Marcus Aurelius Emperor	Tertullian's <i>Apology</i>
161-180		Martyrdom of Perpetua
163		Persecution at Alexandria
177		Death of Origen
197		The great persecution
200		
c. 202	Decius Emperor	
240-251		
253	Diocletian Emperor	
284-305		
303-311	Victory of Constantine at Milvian Bridge	
312		
313		Edict of Milan. Toleration for all religions
302-331		Gregory, Apostle of Armenia
348-374		Conversion of the Goths : Ulphilas
371-397		Martin in N. Gaul

401	Roman legions withdraw from Britain		
410	Sack of Rome by Goths		Patrick in Britain and Ireland
431-490			Severinus in Austria
454-482			
451	Attila defeated at Chalons		Baptism of Clovis
496			Columba's journey to Iona
563			Augustine's journey to England
596			Columban in S. France and Italy
590-630			
622	Hegira (Flight of Mohammed)		Aidan at Lindisfarne
635			Nestorians in China
			Boniface in Central Germany
715-755			
800	Charlemagne crowned at Rome		Anskar in Denmark and Sweden
826-865			Cyril and Methodius in Moravia
863			Nicholas I.'s reply to the Bulgarians
866			
962	Otto the Great crowned Emperor at Rome		Baptism of Vladimir at Kieff
			Hildebrand Pope
988			
1073	First Crusade		
1096	Capture of Jerusalem		
1099			
1124			
1147	Second Crusade		Otho in Pomerania
1189	Third Crusade		
1204	Fourth Crusade		

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY
1216	Fifth Crusade	Confirmation of the Order of Dominican Friars by the Pope
1223		St Francis visits the Sultan
1238		Confirmation of the Order of Franciscan Friars
1241	Defeat of the Mongols at Liegnitz	The Teutonic Knights
1248	Sixth Crusade	
1270	Seventh and last Crusade	
1291		
1292		
1309	"Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon	Raymund Lull in North Africa
1338	Beginning of Hundred Years' War	John of Monte Corvino sent by Pope to [Kublai Khan
1343	Ottoman Turks begin to form settlements in Europe	
1377	End of "Babylonish Captivity"	
1414		
1431		
1440	Discovery of printing by Gutenberg	Council of Constance—burning of Huss Dominicans in India
1452-1536		Savonarola
1453	Fall of Constantinople	
1465		Augustinians in the Philippines
1466-1536		Erasmus

PROTESTANT	ROMAN CATHOLIC
Latimer Luther Zwingli	Loyola
Ridley John Knox Calvin	St Philip Neri St Francis Xavier
Luther publishes his theses at Wittenberg	Franciscans in India Franciscans in Mexico
Tyndal's translation of Bible into English Augsburg Confession	Foundation of Society of Jesus
1472-1555 1483-1546 1484-1531 1491-1546 1492	Discovery of America by Col- umbus Cabot discovers mainland of America Vasco da Gama discovers sea- route to India
1500 1505-1595 1506-1562 1509-1564 1516	Erasmus issues edition of New Testament in Greek Charles V. grants patent for exporting slaves
1517 1520 1524 1525	Diet of Augsburg
1530 1534	

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	ROMAN CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT
1535	Henry VIII. Supreme Head of Church in England	Franciscans in New Mexico Jesuits in India Franciscans in Texas Council of Trent Jesuits in Malacca Jesuits in Brazil Jesuits in Japan	Calvin publishes <i>Institutio Christianæ Religionis</i>
1536			
1537	Papal Bull sanctioning opening of a slave market in Lisbon		
1539			
1542	John Hawkins takes first cargo of slaves to Spanish Main		
1544			
1545-1563			
1546			
1549			
1557		First Covenant signed at Edinburgh	
1562		Jesuits in Florida Congregatio de Propaganda fide formed Franciscans in Philippines	
1566			
1572			
1577			Massacre of St Bartholomew

1581			Dominicans in Philip- pines	Seven Men of Lübeck
1583	First settlement in Virginia		Jesuits in China	
1585			Jesuits in Paraguay	
1586			Dominicans in Japan	
1587				
1588	First British African Company chartered			
	Spanish Armada			
1600	First charter granted to East India Company			John Eliot born
1604				
1608	First permanent English settle- ment in America, in Virginia		Franciscans in Canada	
1615				
1618	Beginning of Thirty Years' War			
1620	Landing of Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth		College of the Propa- ganda formed	Work of Brainerd and others amongst Red Indians
1622			Franciscans in Africa	
1635-1652				
1639	Madras acquired—first British territory in India			
1644			Congregation of the Holy Sacrament	
1646-1683			Jesuits in Maine, etc.	

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY
1648	Peace of Westphalia concludes Thirty Years' War	ROMAN CATHOLIC
1649		PROTESTANT
1663-1727		S.P.G. in New Eng- land and the Francke and the Halle School
1683	Siege of Vienna. Turks re- pulsed Calcutta founded	Society for the Propa- gation of Christian Knowledge formed
1690		
1698		
1699	Exploration of shores of Aus- tralia by Dampier	
1701		S.P.G. in Foreign Parts founded John Wesley Ziegenbalg in India
1703-1791		
1706	Franciscans in Tibet. (After this date, as modern Roman Ca- tholic Missions are outside the scope of this book, further dates in their expan- sion are not given)	
1707		

1710	Kay, of Bury, invents flying-shuttle: beginning of Industrial Revolution	Halle Bible Society founded
1732		First Moravian Mission in West Indies
1737		First Moravian Mission to Africa
1738		First Methodists in London
1749		Christian Schwartz goes to India
1757	Battle of Plassy. Bengal English	
1772	Slavery abolished in Britain	
1771-1782	Records of Captain Cook's voyages published	
1776	Declaration of Independence	First Wesleyan missionary to West Indies
1786	Fall of the Bastille	Baptist Missionary Society formed
1789		Carey sails for India
1792		London Missionary Society formed
1793		Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies formed
1795	Cape Colony becomes British possession	L.M.S. begins work in South Africa
1796		Church Missionary Society formed
1798		Missionary Training School founded in Berlin by Jänicke
1799		Bible Society founded
1800		Robert Morrison reaches Canton
1804		"Haystack" Prayer Meeting
1807	Abolition of slavery	
1808		

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY
1810		American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
1813		Birth of Livingstone
1814		American Baptist Missionary Union
1815	Battle of Waterloo	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
1819		American Methodist Missionary Society
1820		American Episcopalian Missionary Society
1825		St Andrews Students' Missionary Society
1829		Missionary Board of Church of Scotland
1830	Liverpool and Manchester Railway opened	
1832	Reform Bill	Beginning of Oxford Movement
1833	Act passed abolishing slavery in British Colonies	Society for Promoting Female Education in the East
1833	First Factory Act. Children under 9 not to be employed	
1839	Rowland Hill's postage scheme adopted	Disruption in the Church of Scotland
1841	Hong-Kong ceded to England	
1843	Commodore Perry forces open two ports in Japan	
1853	Indian Mutiny	
1857		Livingstone's <i>Missionary Travels</i> published Livingstone appeals to Oxford and Cambridge Universities

1858	Lord Elgin makes Treaty of Yedo, allowing foreigners in Japan	Missionaries given Government protection in China
1859	End of Opium Wars with China; interior of China open	
1861	Government of India transferred to Crown	
1865	Victoria Nyanza discovered	Guido Verbeck begins work in Japan
1867		Universities Mission to Central Africa founded
1872-1874	End of Shogunate in Japan	Archbishop Nicolai begins the Russian Mission in Japan
1873		China Inland Mission founded
1875		Moody and Sankey's Mission to Great Britain
1876		Death of Livingstone
1884		Livingstonia Mission started by Free Church of Scotland
1885	Fall of Khartoum and death of Gordon	C.M.S. Mission in Uganda started
1885-1895	Partition of Africa	"Cambridge Seven" volunteer for missionary work
1886	First Indian National Congress meets	

A.D.	IN SECULAR HISTORY	IN THE EXPANSION OF CHRISTIANITY
1890	First Japanese Parliament	Foundation of Student Volunteer Missionary Union in Great Britain
1892		
1894	Diplomatic recognition of Japan by Great Britain	Massacre of missionaries and converts
1897	Germany seizes Kiao-Chow	
1898	Russia seizes Port Arthur, Great Britain seizes Wei-hai-Wei	
1900	Boxer rising in China and siege of the Legations	
1902	Anglo-Japanese Alliance	
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War	World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh
	Commission of Inquiry for Congo begins	
1905	British Expedition to Lhasa	
1907	Suppression of opium-growing in China begins	
1908	Death of Empress-Dowager of China	
1910	Chinese Republic declared	
1912		

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